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HISTORY OF CONGREGATIONALISM.

HISTORY OF CONGREGATIONALISM

FROM

ABOUT A.D. 250 TO THE PRESENT TIME

IN CONTINUATION OF THE ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN AND EARLIEST
HISTORY OF THIS SYSTEM OF CHURCH POLITY CON-
TAINED IN "A VIEW OF CONGREGATIONALISM"

BY

GEORGE PUNCHARD

SECOND EDITION

REWRITTEN AND GREATLY ENLARGED

VOL. III

NEW YORK
PUBLISHED BY HURD AND HOUGHTON
459 BROOME STREET
1867

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1867, by
GEORGE PUNCHARD,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the District of Massachusetts.

*The Bible
for
the Author.*

RIVERSIDE, CAMBRIDGE:
STEREOTYPED AND PRINTED BY
H. O. HOUGHTON AND COMPANY.

28.786.

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HISTORY.

CHAPTER I

**THE ERA OF OPEN SEPARATION OF PURITANS FROM THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND, 1575-1581. — ROBERT BROWNE. —
BROWNISM.**

THE last quarter of the sixteenth century is a memorable era in Congregational history. It was during this period that many of the more zealous and courageous puritans broke the trammels of education, became open, uncompromising separatists from the church of England, and organized themselves into distinct churches, after the apostolic models. This, however, was by no means the beginning of Congregationalism in England, as many are disposed to believe. So far from this, it is evident, from the details given in the preceding volumes of this history, that practical Congregationalists had abounded in the kingdom for nearly two centuries. And that there were organized churches, also, there can be little doubt; though the constant and deadly persecution to which they were exposed compelled them to practise so much secrecy that very few particulars of their history have come down to us. Near the close of the six-

teenth century, however, separatism became more open and undisguised, and the history of Congregationalism, consequently, becomes more easily and satisfactorily traced.

The bold new measures which inaugurated this era of our history first attracted special attention in the neighborhood of Bury, in the diocese of Norwich, county of Suffolk, the birthplace of the famous Nicholas Bacon, and of the notorious Bishop Gardiner. How long the leaven had been at work in that neighborhood cannot be certainly determined, though it is certain that from a very remote period this diocese had been the home of determined dissenters from popery and kindred errors.*

Somewhere about 1575-76, two persons at least were thrown into prison in Bury for the crime of nonconformity, one of whom afterwards suffered death for his principles. Persecution, as usual, excited rather than extinguished the spirit of dissent, and about the year 1580-81 it was blown into a flame by the fiery zeal of one who ultimately became the most notorious, though by no means the most consistent advocate of Congregational principles.

Robert Browne, after whom the early Separatists

* William Sautre, one of the very earliest burnt-offerings to popery in England, in 1400-1, was parish priest in this diocese, near Bury. See *ante*, vol. i. p. 416, and onwards. See, for accounts of persecutions in this county, *ante*, vol. i. pp. 526, 528, 531-35, and 555.

of Elizabeth's reign were called Brownists, was probably born in Tolethorpe, in Rutlandshire, about the year 1550.* He was the third son of Anthony Browne, Esq., of Tolethorpe, and Dorothy, daughter of Sir Philip Boteley, of Wodhal, in Hertfordshire.

The Brownes were an ancient and wealthy family, who for some two hundred years had maintained an honorable position among the gentry of the county, and in later years had intermarried with the nobility of the land. They originated at Stanford, where they were drapers, and afterwards wealthy merchants of the staple. One of them, William Browne, who died in 1488 after having been chief magistrate of the borough for a number of years and high sheriff of the county, is mentioned by Leland, in his "Itinerary," as "a merchant of very wonderful richnesse." To his liberality the town was indebted for a hospital, and one of the churches for an elegant steeple.† Chris-

* Paget says that Robert Browne was a Northamptonshire man. — *Heresiography*, p. 66, 6th ed. Lond. 1662. *Collier* (Great Dictionary) says he was born in Northampton. So does *Heylyn*, p. 256. But they are all probably wrong. *Masters* says "Robert Browne was of an ancient and honorable family in Rutlandshire, and the son of Anthony Browne, Esq., of Tolthorpe; but whether born there, or at Northampton or Stamford, about the year 1550, authors are not agreed." — *History of Corpus Christi College*, p. 251, 252; quarto, Cambridge, Eng., 1753.

† "In the Southe Parte of Staunford Towne, withyn the waulles, and by the Market Place, is an Hospitale omnium Sanctorum, founded by one Browne of that Towne, a Merchant of a very wonderful richnesse, and he lived in hoc cetate." — *Leland's*

topher Browne, the great-grandfather of Robert, seems to have been the first of the family who settled at Tolethorpe, sometime previous to the year 1492. He accompanied the Earl of Richmond (afterwards Henry VII.) when he landed at Milford Haven, August 4th, 1485, and without doubt proved himself a useful retainer; for Henry made him a grant, in 1504, of Tolethorpe and seven neighboring villages and hamlets in Caster-ton Parva Hundred, with important privileges and liberties. He was sheriff of the county three years. Francis Browne, son and heir of Christopher and grandfather of Robert, was evidently a man of some distinction also, and in high esteem with the king; for he received letters-patent from Henry VIII. exempting him from service on juries, from being sheriff or escheator, and authorizing him to keep his head covered in the presence of the king, his heirs and successors, and all great men, spiritual and temporal, of the kingdom. This exemption from the necessity of uncovering the head in the presence of royalty itself was so rare a privilege that only two other instances are believed to be on record in English history. One of these was that of Radcliff, Earl of Sussex, commander of Queen Mary's army on her first accession to the crown, and who rendered her very great service in securing the quiet possession of the English

Itinerary, vol. vi. fol. 29. The same Browne built an elegant steeple for the church of All Saints. — *Blome's History and Antiquities of Rutland*, pp. 89-96, folio, Stanford, 1811.

throne. Anthony Browne, the son and heir of Francis and the father of Robert, evidently maintained the reputation of the family, and, like his ancestors, served as sheriff of the county. He held the office at least three years, during the reigns of Henry VIII., Mary, and Elizabeth. The family was connected with Lord Treasurer Burleigh, by the marriage of Burleigh's aunt, Johanna Cecil, with Edmund Browne, the half-brother of Robert's grandfather.*

Robert Browne was educated, in part at least, at Cambridge, in Corpus Christi, or Bennet College. Fuller tells us that he preached at Bennet church, and there attracted the attention of Dr. Still, afterwards Master of Trinity, who, out of curiosity, or casually, being present on one or more occasions, discovered in him "something extraordinary, which he presaged would prove the disturbance of the church, if not seasonably prevented." † After

* *Hist. and Antiq. of Rutland, ut sup.*; *Fuller's Church History*, bk. ix. sect. 6, Oxford, 1845. Most authorities speak of Browne as Burleigh's "near relation," "near kinsman," and as "nearly allied" to him, etc. See *Biographia Britannica*; *Heylyn*, 257; *Collier*, vii. 2, etc. But the fact is, that the lord treasurer was very remotely allied to Browne, as appears by the genealogy of the Browne family, given by Blore; not quite so nearly, even, as the words of the text suggest; for Burleigh's aunt, Johanna Cecil, was only a half-sister of Burleigh's father.

† *Heylyn*, 256; *Neal's Puritans*, i. 376; *Fuller*, bk. ix. sect. 6. According to *Masters*, Browne's connection with Corpus Christi, where authors have generally placed him, is rendered somewhat uncertain, because of the college registers being deficient in Christian names; "although three are mentioned there by the surname

leaving Cambridge, Browne became the master of the Free School of St. Olive's, Southwark. He did not, however, relinquish preaching; but, if we may believe Paget, devoted a portion of his time to the religious instruction of the poor laborers about Islington.* He early embraced the puritan side of the great controversy of the age. And, though it has been common to regard him as merely a wild fanatic, he must have been something more to have gained a standing among "the chief puritans about London" at the early age of twenty-one years, as he did.† Browne was then chaplain to the Duchess of Suffolk, and an attempt was made by his patron to screen him from the archbishop's summons, on the ground of his living in a privileged place; but Parker sent a letter to the duchess, dated January 13th, 1571-2, and signed by himself and four other commissioners, telling her ladyship that their commission extended to all places within her majesty's dominions, and that, if

of Browne, from 1565 to 1570, and one by that of Robert, who proceeded A. B. two years after." — *Hist. Corpus Christi*, 252.

* Paget, or Pagitt, says he was schoolmaster of the free school of St. Olive's in Southwark. "This Brown, seducing certain people, preached to them in a gravel-pit near Islington." — *Heresiography*, p. 66. Baylie's *Dissuasive*, pp. 13, 14. Masters speaks of him as "a lecturer at Islington." — *Hist. C. C. C.* 252.

† "The archbishop cited the chief puritans about London to Lambeth, viz: Messrs. Goodman, Lever, Sampson, Walker, Wyburn, Goff, Percival, Deering, Field, Browne, Johnson, and others." — *Hist. Pur.*, I. 296, Ewer & Allen's ed. 1816; *Strype's Parker*, II. 65-68.

she detained her chaplain, ("as he saith,") other means would be used to bring him to answer. The citation was accordingly obeyed. But Browne's "family and relations covered him for the present," and he escaped unpunished.*

After this we hear nothing of him until April, 1581, when Dr. Freke, bishop of Norwich, reported to Lord Burleigh "many great disorders in the town of Bury and county thereabout, as well in the clergy as in the laity"; and after mentioning Mr. Handson, curate of St. James' church in Bury, whom he had "inhibited to preach," † as the

* *Strype's Parker*, II. 67, 238-41; *Archbp. Parker's Correspondence*, p. 391; *Neal*, I. 296. *Strype* and *Neal* say that this letter was addressed to the "Duke of Norfolk"; but the letter was addressed "to the well-known *Duchess of Suffolk*, Katherine, widow of Charles Brandon." — *Parker's Correspondence*, ut. sup., and note. *Masters* says: "So early as 1571, (if Mr. Strype has placed his citation before the ecclesiastical commissioners for schism in the right year,) we find him entertained as domestic chaplain in the Duke of Norfolk's family." — P. 252.

† Sir Robert Jermin, with Lord North and some others, wrote to the bishop of Norwich on behalf of Mr. Handson, that "they knew his ministry to have been very profitable to a great number; that they who sought to remove him were rather adversaries, than friends to the truth; that for matter of faith and manners, he was ever held a sound teacher"; and "that in these indifferent things he had never labored much"; and urged, that, "in consideration of these things, he would give him liberty to exercise his ministry." But the bishop resolutely refused to set Handson at liberty unless he would publicly confess himself at fault, and be bound to follow another course. This Handson would not do. Sir Robert and his friends then appealed to the lord treasurer, but without success. So the bishop had his own way. See *Strype's Annals*, vol. III. pt. I. p. 30.

"only man there blowing the coals whereof this fire is kindled." he adds: "Herewith I send unto your lordship other articles ministered against Robert Browne, minister, and his several answers thereunto; the said party being lately apprehended in this county, upon complaint made by many godly preachers, for delivering unto the people corrupt and contentious doctrine, contained and set down more at large in the same articles. His arrogant spirit of reproving being such as is to be marvelled at; the man being also to be feared, lest, if he were at liberty, he would seduce the vulgar sort of the people, who greatly depend on him, assembling themselves to the number of a hundred at a time, in private houses and conventicles, to hear him; not without danger to some thereabout."*

Browne's "arrogant spirit of reproving," of which the bishop complains, appeared doubtless at the time of his arraignment before his lordship and the commissioners; for we are told that he so "misbehaved himself to the court" that he was ordered into the custody of the sheriff of Norwich, by whom he was held a prisoner for some time.†

On the 21st of April, Burleigh — who seems to have been kept acquainted with his kinsman's movements — two days after the bishop's letter

* *Hanbury's Memorials*, I. 19, note, Lond. 1839; *Strype's Annals*, vol. III. pt. I. p. 22.

† *Heylyn's History of the Presbyterians*, II. 581, in *Brook*; *Biog. Brit.*; *Collier*, VII. 8.

was written, and probably before that had reached London, wrote to Freke, suggesting that Browne had become sensible of his errors, apologizing for him, and requesting that he might be "charitably conferred with and reformed"; and if that course failed, that he might be sent up to London:—

"After my very hearty commendations to your lordship: whereas I understand that one Browne, a preacher, is by your lordship and others of the ecclesiastical commission committed to the custody of the sheriff of Norfolk, where he remains a prisoner, for some matters of offence uttered by him by way of preaching; wherein I perceive, by sight of some letters written by certain godly preachers in your lordship's diocese, he hath been dealt with and by them dissuaded from that course he hath taken. Forasmuch as he is my kinsman, if he be son to him whom I take him to be, and that his error seemeth to proceed of zeal rather than of malice, I do therefore wish he were charitably conferred with and reformed. Which course I pray your lordship may be taken with him, either by your lordship or such as your lordship shall assign for that purpose. And in case there shall not follow thereof such success as may be to your liking, that then you would be content to permit him to repair hither to London, to be further dealt with as I shall take order for upon his coming. For which purpose I have written a letter to the sheriff, if your lordship shall like thereof." *

* *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* bk. ix. sect. 6.

This letter procured the release of the zealous young Separatist, though he was ordered to leave the diocese. This he probably did immediately, but only for a very short time; for, on the 2d of August of the same year, Freke wrote again to Burleigh, complaining that Browne had unexpectedly returned to the diocese, and was busily undoing all that the Church and State authorities had done towards suppressing his dangerous doctrines, "having," he says, "private meetings in suche close and secrett manner, as that I know not possible how to suppress the same." The bishop also complains that "gentlemen in Suffolk, about Bury," countenanced these proceedings, "in winking at, if not of pollicie procuring, the disordered sort to go forwards in their evil attemptes, and discouraging the staid and wiser sorte of preachers"; and he earnestly prays his lordship's help in suppressing Browne especially.*

The names of some of these respected backers of Browne and his associates are given by Strype as: Sir Robert Jermin, Sir John Higham, knights; Robert Ashfield and Thomas Badby, esquires. Bishop Freke was so vexed by the conduct of these upright, conscientious magistrates — who are represented as carrying all before them "in their countenancing of these disaffected persons to the order and discipline of the church" — that he "ap-

* *Wright's Original Letters*, vol. II. pp. 145-46; *Hanbury*, I. 20, note; *Strype's Annals*, vol. III. pt. I. p. 23.

pealed to the lord treasurer in a series of charges against them, and got them summoned to London to answer." They were charged with giving countenance to disobedient and disorderly men, particularly with favoring Coppin and Tyler, and with refusing divers ministers ordained by the bishop, because they were ignorant and could not read. They were accused of being for nothing but Geneva psalms and sermons; with endeavoring to remove one Wood, a minister, from his living, because he only read, and putting the parish upon choosing another; with joining their authority together against the commissary, Dr. Day or Daye, and threatening to send him to jail, using violent speeches against him, and binding him over to his good behavior; and, finally, with binding over a Mr. Phillips, for a sermon preached at Bury, to make his appearance before them. To these charges the magistrates answered with considerable tartness, and with so much reason as to satisfy the court, and defeat the bishop and his commissary, and to make his lordship very willing to leave the diocese at the earliest opportunity.*

On Browne's second appearance at Bury, Sir Robert Jermin, a sober, kindly man with a strong leaning towards puritanism, "sent for him, and moved him to be careful of his proceedings. He told him how dangerous his cause seemed in the opinion of many honest and godly men; and how

* *Styripe's Annals*, vol. III. pt. 1. pp. 21, 22, and Appendix No. 8.

apt the adversary of truth would be to slander and discredit the profession and professors of the truth, if these his singular conceits might not be warranted by the Word and Christian policy." To this Browne answered "many things that were godly and reasonable, and to be wished and prayed for; but other things, strange and unheard," and, as Sir Robert thought, "over dangerous to be retained in opinion." These strange and dangerous things Strype tells us related to the "setting up a new discipline, and overthrowing the present established church government by episcopacy." But notwithstanding Sir Robert's caution, and the bishop's efforts, Browne, with an assistant, Richard or Robert Harrison, a schoolmaster, diligently and successfully employed himself in preaching and gathering Separatist churches in the vicinity. This has been called "the first gathering of churches, the first schism which appeared in England." But it was by no means so. There were many "gatherings of churches" before this.* Among others, he drew around him a considerable number of Dutch immigrants, who were very numerous in Norwich.†

* *Annals*, vol. III. pt. I. p. 30. See Appendix, Note A.

† *Brook*, II. 367; *Collier*, VII. 2; *Heylyn*, 256; *Neal*, I. 376; *Strype's Parker*, II. 69. *Collier* says: "Browne made his first essay [towards proselyting] upon three Dutchmen." And *Fuller* says: "The city of Norwich, a place which then spake little more than *mediatatem lingue*, having almost as many Dutch strangers as English natives inhabiting therein."—*Ch. Hist.* bk. IX. sect. 6. *Heylyn* says: "Of each nation [Dutch and English] he began to gather churches

But after about a year, finding the bishop and the commissioners intent on his arrest, he left England, accompanied by Harrison and a number of his Dutch friends, and went to Zealand, better known since as the fatal island of Walcheren, and settled at Middleburgh. Here he organized a church, and in 1582 published a book explanatory of his system of church order, entitled, "A Book which showeth the Life and Manners of all true Christians, etc. Also the Points and Parts of all Divinity," etc. This was a quarto of one hundred and twelve pages, arranged in tabular form, under the following heads: "The State of Christians," "The State of Heathen," "The Anti-Christian State," "The Jewish State." *

to himself, of the last especially." — p. 256. *Masters* says: "Robert Harrison, who took the degree of A. B. in 1567, and that of A. M. in 1572, was, I have scarce any doubt, the person so strongly recommended to the mayor and aldermen of Norwich by their bishop for the mastership of Aylsham School the year following. He was a married man, who lived there, and was allowed to be the best qualified for it of any of the candidates in regard to learning; but seems afterwards to have acquired great fame among the puritans, and to have been concerned with Browne in setting forth that book which gave rise to his sect." — *Hist. C. C. C.* 309.

* *Hanbury*, i. 19, 20. *Strype* says that Tho. Gybson, a book-binder in Bury, had printed Browne's books as early as 1582. Whether he had done this at Bury or had accompanied Browne to Zealand, does not appear. — *Annals*, vol. III. pt. 1. p. 177; *Life of Parker*, II. 69. *Masters* says this book was "thought to be a curious and well-wrote piece." — *Hist. C. C. C.* 258. See a sample of this singular book, in tabular form, in the *Biographia Britannica*, art. *Brown*.

The following extracts, for which we are indebted to Mr. Hanbury's researches — there being but one perfect copy known to be extant — deserve to be quoted, as presenting the earliest and fullest development of Congregational principles in Elizabeth's reign : —

“ *The New Testament*, which is called the Gospel, or glad tidings, is a joyful and plain declaring and teaching, by a due message, of the remedy of our miseries through Christ our Redeemer, who is come in the flesh, a Saviour unto those which worthily receive this message, and hath fulfilled the old ceremonies. — Our *calling*, in plainer manner, is when the means which move us to seek Christ are clear to the conscience, without the outward shadows and ceremonies thereof.

“ *The Church planted or gathered*, is a company or number of Christians or believers, which, by a willing covenant made with their God, are under the government of God and Christ, and keep his laws in one holy communion : because Christ hath redeemed them unto holiness and happiness forever, from which they were fallen by the sin of Adam. — *The Church government* is the lordship of Christ in the communion of his offices, whereby his people *obey* to his will, and have mutual use of their graces and callings, to further their godliness and welfare.

“ *The kingdom of Christ* is his office of government, whereby he useth the obedience of his people to keep his laws and commandments, to their

salvation and welfare. — *The kingdom of Antichrist* is his government confirmed by the civil magistrate, whereby he abuseth the obedience of the people to keep his evil laws and customs to their own damnation. * * * *Separation* of the open, wilful, or grievous offenders, is a dutifulness of the church in withholding from them the Christian communion and fellowship, by pronouncing and showing the covenant of Christian communion to be broken by their grievous wickedness, and that with mourning, fasting, and prayer for them, and denouncing God's judgments against them.

“ *The office of teaching and guiding* is a charge or message committed by God unto those which have grace and gifts for the same, and thereto are tried and duly received of the people, to use their obedience in learning and keeping the laws of God.

“ *Eldership* is a joining or partaking of the authority of elders, or forwardest and wisest, in a peaceable meeting, for redressing and deciding of matters in particular churches, and for counsel therein.

“ *A Pastor* is a person having office and message of God, for exhorting and moving especially, and guiding accordingly : for the which he is tried to be meet, and thereto is duly chosen by the church which calleth him, or received by obedience where he planteth the church. — *A Teacher* of doctrine is a person having office and message of God, for teaching especially, and guiding accordingly, with

less gift to exhort and apply: for the which he is tried to be meet, and thereto is duly chosen by the church which calleth him, or received by obedience where he planteth the church. — *An Elder*, or more forward in gift, is a person having office and message of God, for oversight and counsel, and redressing things amiss: for the which he is tried, etc.

“*The Reliever* [or *Deacon*] is a person having office of God, to provide, gather, and bestow the gifts and liberality of the church as there is need: to the which office he is tried and received as meet. — *The Widow* is a person having office of God to pray for the church, and to visit and minister to those which are afflicted and distressed in the church: for the which she is tried and received as meet.

“*Civil Magistrates* are persons authorized of God, and received by the consent or choice of the people, whether officers or subjects, or by birth and succession also, to make and execute laws by public agreement, to rule the commonwealth in all outward justice, and to maintain the right, welfare, and honor thereof, with outward power, bodily punishments, and civil forcing of men.

“*The gathering of voices and consent of the People* is a general inquiry who is meet to be chosen; when, first, it is appointed to them all, being duly assembled, to look out such persons among them; and then the number of the most which agree is taken by some of the wisest, with presenting and naming of the parties to be chosen, if none can

allege any cause or default against them. — The *Ordaining* by some of the forwardest and wisest, is a pronouncing them with prayer and thanksgiving and laying on of hands (if such imposition of hands be not turned into pomp or superstition) that they are called and authorized of God, and received of their charge to that calling.”

Another of Browne’s books, published about this time, if not in connection with the above treatise, was entitled, “A Treatise on Reformation, without tarrying for any; and of the Wickedness of those Preachers who will not reform Themselves and their Charge, because they will tarry till the Magistrate command and compel them.”* The very title of this work shows the spirit of the man and of his treatise.

Robert Browne remained at Middleburgh only about two years, when difficulties of some kind arose between him and his church, and he left, with four or five families of his followers, for Dundee, Scotland. Harrison, with the bulk of the church, remained at Middleburgh, and lived and died in the faith for which he had suffered so much. From Dundee Browne went to St. Andrews, and thence to Edinburgh, where he arrived January 9th, 1584–5, and established himself and company at the head of the Canongate.†

* *Hanbury*, i. 22; *Masters’ Hist. C. C. C.* 258, says that “great care was taken to get this dispersed over England, which was probably the occasion of his being taken up on his return.”

† *Calderswood’s History of the Kirk of Scotland*, iv. 1, 2, 3; *Wod-*
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According to Calderwood, these people held "opinioun of separation from all kirks where ex-communication was not vigorouslie used against open offenders not repenting. They would not admitt witnesses in baptism; and sindrie other opiniouns they had." Such heretical opinions, supposed or real, could not of course go unchallenged in Edinburgh. Accordingly, on Tuesday, January 14th, 1584-5, we find Browne before the session of the kirk of Edinburgh; where, it is said, "he made show, after an arrogant maner, that he would mainteane that witnesses [god-fathers and godmothers] was not a thing indifferent, but simplie evill"; and where he was accused — falsely, of course — of affirming "that the soules died."

The session not being able to manage this "ringleader of the Brownists," he was next subjected to the inquisition of certain members — perhaps a committee — of the presbytery, on the 21st of the same month. To them he "alledged,

row Society's ed. Edinb. 1845; *Hanbury*, i. 22, 172; *McCrie's Life of Melville*, i. 324. *Ainsworth's Counterpoyson* (p. 24, ed. 1642) says to Bernard, "Mr. Harrison returned not unto your church of England, but died at Middleburgh, in the faith that we profess." King James I. in his "*Basilikon Doron*; or, *His Majestie's Instruction to his dear Sonne, Henry the Prince*," thus refers to this visit of Browne to Scotland: "Divers of them, as Browne, Penry, and others, having at sundrie times come into Scotland to sow their popple amongst us, (and from my heart I wish that they had left no Schollers behind them, who by their fruits will in the owne time be manifested)." — *King James' Works*, p. 148, folio, London, 1616.

that the whole discipline of Scotland was amisse, and that he and his companie were not subject to it, and therefore he would appeal from the kirk to the magistrat."

Seven days after this, Browne and his associates were called before the presbytery of Edinburgh. It proved a long, and no doubt a stormy session, being "continued until the morne." Browne was here called to defend the opinions expressed in his books, which had been carefully ransacked for the occasion by the presbytery. His books he acknowledged and defended. But he denied the authority of the presbytery to adjudicate upon his case, and appealed to the civil magistrate. This seems to have prevented the ecclesiastical courts from proceeding any further than to raise a committee to present charges against Browne before the king. But here the matter ended; for the court, according to Calderwood, "enterteand and fostered" Browne's opinions "to molest the kirk";* and he was allowed to go unpunished, and, so far as appears,

* *McCrie*, in his *Life of Andrew Melville*, gives the following account of Browne's visit to Scotland: "In the year 1584, Robert Brown, the founder of the sect of Brownists in England, came into Scotland with a number of followers. Having taken up his residence in the Canongate of Edinburgh, he began to disseminate his peculiar opinions, and to circulate writings in which all the reformed churches were stigmatized as unscriptural and anti-christian societies. The court took this rigid sectary under their protection, and encouraged him, for no other conceivable reason than his exclaiming against the ministers, and calling in question their authority." — Vol. i. pp. 325–26, 8vo. Edinb. 1819; *Hanbury*, i. 22.

unmolested, sowing broadcast among the people what King James in later years called his "people," but what at that time, for some reason, seems not to have been particularly offensive to the king or the Scottish court.

Browne's stay in Scotland was short, his restless spirit not allowing him to continue long in any place; and early in the autumn of 1585 we find him again in England, arraigned before Archbishop Whitgift to answer for his treatises on church order, which had been pretty freely dispersed in England. But, either for want of evidence that he had been privy to their dispersion, or because of an apparent yielding on Browne's part to the bishop's arguments, or through the interposition of his friendly kinsman, Lord Burleigh, he escaped punishment, as usual.*

After this he was induced by the lord treasurer to leave London and retire to his father's house in Tolethorpe, Rutlandshire, carrying with him as an introduction to his father's favor, the following

* *Hanbury* (i. 28) assigns the lack of evidence against Browne, and *Brook* (ii. 867) the interposition of Burleigh, as the reason of his escape. *Collier* says that Whitgift, "by the dexterity of his management and the force of his reasoning, brought him to a tolerable compliance with the church of England," though he adds that Browne afterwards relapsed to his former condition. — Vol. vii. p. 8; *Fuller*, bk. ix. sect. 6. *Masters* says that Browne "confessed himself to be the author, but denied being concerned in the publication of it. The archbishop, however, having brought him to some sort of compliance, dismissed him, and the lord treasurer sent him into the country to his father." — P. 258.

kindly letter from Burleigh, dated October 8th, 1585:—

“ After my very hearty recommendations : Understanding that your son, Robert Brown, had been sent for up by my lord bishop of Canterbury to answer to such matters as he was to be charged withal, contained in a book made by him and published in print (as it was thought) by his means, I thought good, considering he was your son and of my blood, to send unto my lord of Canterbury in his behalf, that he might find what reasonable favor he could show him ; before whom I perceive he hath answered in some good sort ; and although I think he will not deny the making of the book, yet by no means will he confess to be acquainted with the printing of it. He hath beside yielded unto his lordship such further contentment as he is contented (the rather at my motion) to discharge him ; and therefore, for that he purposeth to repair to you, I have thought good to accompany him with these my letters, and to pray you for this cause, or any his former dealings, not to withdraw from him your fatherly love and affection, not doubting but with time he will be fully recovered and withdraw from the reliques of some fond opinions of his, which will be the better done if he be dealt withal in some kind and temperate manner.” *

Browne remained with his father but a few

* *Feller*, bk. ix. sect. 6.

months. Probably their tempers were too much alike to allow them to live together. Certainly, if we may believe Fuller, their religious views were sufficiently unlike to provoke contention, the father being a high churchman, who declared "that he would not own him for a son who would not own the church of England for his mother," while the son was a bold, defiant Separatist, who held that the church of England was no true church, and that Christian men ought to come out from her, and cease to be partakers of her abominations. For about four months this forced and unnatural association continued, when the elder Browne wrote to Burleigh, begging to be excused from any further care of his wayward son. To this request Burleigh replied, under date of February 17th, 1585-6, as follows:—

"After my very hearty commendations: I perceive by your letter that you have little or no hopes of your son's conformity, as you had when you received him into your house; and therefore you seem desirous that you may have liberty to remove him farther off from you, as either to Stamford or some other place, which I know no cause but you may very well and lawfully do, when I wish he might better be persuaded to conform himself, for his own good and yours and his friends' comfort."*

From Tolethorpe Browne seems first to have gone to Stamford, or Stanford. We next hear of

* Fuller, bk. ix. sect. 6.

him "travelling up and down the country, preaching against the laws and ceremonies of the church," and against the bishops, and "enduring great hardships." * This course he pursued probably for a year or more, † after which he went to reside in Northampton. Here his preaching attracted the attention of Lindsell, bishop of Peterborough, who cited "the heretic" before him, probably some time in 1588, and on his refusal to appear, excommunicated him for contempt. It is said that "the solemnity of this censure made such an impression on Browne, that he renounced his principles of separation." ‡ Any one may believe this who will; but there is nothing in Browne's life and character to justify such a belief. He was about the last man in England likely to be "impressed" by a bishop's sentence; for, having been for twenty years at war with them, facing them in their courts and fighting them everywhere, he had no such exaggerated notions of their sanctity or authority as would be apt to trouble him, let them say or do to him what they might. It is altogether more probable that Browne, weary of his wandering, perse-

* *Brook*, art. *Browne*; *Biog. Brit.* art. *Browne*. *Masters*, p. 258.

† He probably went to Stamford, or Stanford, soon after Feb. 17th, 1585-6. On June 20th, 1589, Burleigh wrote to Lindsell that Browne had "now a good time forsaken" "his strange manner of writing and opinions held by him." Supposing this "good time" to mean a year, it leaves two years and about four months' time to be divided between his stay at Stanford, his travels up and down the country, and his residence at Northampton.

‡ *Brook*; *Biog. Brit.*; *Collier*, vii. 8; *Strype's Parker*, ii. 69; *Whitgift*, i. 619; *Masters*, *ut supra*.

cutted life, and possibly having done all the work that his wily kinsman had marked out for him, took measures to reconcile himself to the mother church simply to secure a comfortable support for the remainder of his life. The first intimation of his defection is found in a letter addressed to the bishop of Peterborough by Lord Burleigh, dated the 20th of June, 1589, as follows:—

“ To the Rev. Father in God, my very good Lord the Bishop of Peterborough. After my hearty commendations to your lordship : Although it might seem somewhat strange that I should write to your lordship in the favour of this bearer, Robert Browne, who hath been so notably disliked in the world for his strange manner of writing and opinions held by him ; yet, seeing he hath now a good time forsaken the same, and submitted himself to the order and government established in the church, I have been the rather moved to recommend him to your lordship’s favour, and to pray you if haply any conceit may be in you that there should remain any relics in him of his former erroneous opinions, your lordship would confer with him, and, finding him dutiful and conformable, as I hope you shall, to receive him again into the ministry, and to give him your best means and help for some ecclesiastical preferment ; wherein I am the more willing to do him good, and am not a little glad at the reclaiming of him, being of kindred unto me, as your lordship, I think, knows.” *

* *Hanbury*, i. 24, note ; *Strype’s Whitgift*, i. 629.

A little more than two years after this letter was written, on the 6th of September 1591, Browne was duly instituted rector of Achurch, or Thorp-Achurch, or Achurch *cum* Thorp, a small rectory in the union of Oundle, on the river Neuse, in Northamptonshire, "a very considerable living."*

The parish of Thorp-Achurch was a small village of eighteen families. The church took its name from John de Church, a monk of Peterborough Abbey, and compiler of the Register of the convent, who was born in the village. The church consisted of a body, chancel, and cross aisle, tiled. At the west end was a spire steeple and four bells. Length of the church and chancel, ninety feet; cross aisle from north to south, forty-five feet. The living was a rectory, with the vicarage of Silford, in the archdeaconry of Northampton and diocese of Peterborough. In 1535 the rectory was rated at £45 6s. 8d. Narisford Hundred originally belonged to the Abbey of Peterborough. The reversion of the manors of Achurch and Thorp-Watervill, fell to Henry VIII. in the first year of his reign, at the death of Margaret, Countess of Richmond. With the crown they continued till the fifth of Edward VI., when, with the advowson of Achurch, they were granted, with the title of Richmond's lands, to Sir William Cecil. Lord

* *Brook*, II. 388; *Collier*, II. 582; *Strype's Whig*, I. 619; *Hanbury*, I. 24; *Fuller*, bk. IX. sect. 6; *Masters*, p. 283. — *Thorp*, a small village or hamlet, from the German *trupp*-troop.

Burleigh was patron of the living in 1562; and one of Cecil's (Lord Burleigh's) lineal descendants, John, Earl of Exeter, was lord of the Achurch manor as late as 1791. A little thatched house, in which Browne lived, was standing at Thorp-Watervill, a hamlet whose lands were mixed with those of Achurch, in 1791, occupied by a tenant of the Earl of Exeter, though, from the date on the chimney, 1618, it was supposed to be one hundred and seventy-three years old.*

Achurch parsonage was Browne's resting-place — if such a man can be said ever to have rested — for about thirty-nine years, or until 1630. But though he was thus long the rector of an episcopal church, he is said never to have performed the duties of the office, employing a curate to take his place.†

Robert Browne was a man of some learning and very considerable ability. In his younger days he was an attractive and popular preacher, and a clear and vigorous writer.‡ And though a severe sufferer

* See *Parliamentary Gazetteer of England and Wales*, art. *Thorp-Achurch*; and *History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, vol. II. pp. 864-66, Oxford, 1791. *Heylyn* says that this living was presented to Browne by "Thomas, Lord Burleigh, after Earl of Oxon." — P. 258.

† *Ch. Hist.* bk. IX. sect. 6; *Brook*, II. 388; *Hanbury*, I. 24.

‡ *Baylie* says that the best arguments for that schism have ever since been drawn from Browne's writings. — *Dissuasive*, p. 14. And he quotes Giffard as saying: "Whosoever shall read Brown his books, and peruse all his scholars' writings, shall see that they have no sharp arrow but which is drawn out of his quiver." — P. 18.

for his opinions — having, according to his own statement, been committed to no less than thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand before him at noon-day — yet, after all, he was a man of whom neither his early nor later friends had any occasion to be proud. He was not only a radical, but an ultraist; not merely zealous, but passionate. He not only broke away from his early associates and friends, but he quarrelled with his later ones. He was an unfaithful pastor, and an unkind husband, even cursing and beating his old wife, from whom he was finally separated.* Such a man could not, of course, retain the respect of his parishioners; and becoming poor, and neglecting to pay a certain parish rate, and being somewhat roughly dunned by the constable, his own godson, Browne in a passion struck the constable, and he, in retaliation, took the old man before a justice. Irritated by such treatment, Browne was so insolent to the justice that he

* *Paget* says: "Old father Browne being reprov'd for beating his old wife, distinguished, that he did not beat her as his wife, but as a curst old woman." — *Heresiography*, 77; also, 86.

Baylis's Dissuasive, p. 14, says: "I have heard it from reverend divines, that he was a common beater of his poor old wife, and would not stick to defend publicly this his wicked practice; also that he was an open profaner of the Sabbath; and that his injustice in not paying the small pittance he was indebted to him whom laziness in his calling made him to keep for the supply of the cure of his parsonage, did bring him to prison, in the which, for that very cause, he continued till death."

Paget improves on this scandalous story, and makes it a characteristic of the Brownists or Separatists generally, that they beat

committed the old sinner to Northampton jail; whither — corpulent and infirm and unable to walk — he was carried on his bed, in a cart, and there soon ended his eventful and turbulent life, “about 1630,” in the eighty-first year of his age.* “He is said to have been buried under a large stone at the entrance of the chancel of Achurch; although Fuller, who ought to know, has told us that it was in one of the churchyards at Northampton.” †

Fuller says of Browne: “I will never believe that he ever formally recanted his opinions, either by word or writing, as to the main of what he maintained. More probable it is, that the promise of his general compliance with the church of England (so far forth as not to make further dis-

their servants and even their wives: “You may read in the book called ‘The Prophane Schism of the Brownists’ how cruelly also they used their servants for not doing their tasks, as some they hand up by their hands, and whip them stark-naked, being women-grown; yea, they spare not their wives, but correct them. It may be they learnt this of their patriarch father Brown, who would curstly correct his old wife, as before [narrated].” — *Heresiography*, 86.

Bits of scandal about the Separatists were nuts to Baylie and Paget. They rolled them as sweet morsels under their tongues. Their books abound with them. But no discreet man will swallow them without careful consideration.

* Fuller, bk. ix. sect. 6; Neal, I. 878; Hanbury, I. 24; Collier, VII. 8. The justice who committed him was “Sir Rowland St. John, of Woodford, knight of the Bath, who was inclined to have spared him, had not his stubborn behavior prevented it.” — *Masters*, 288, note.

† *Masters’ Hist. C. C. C.* 254.

turbance therein) met with the archbishop's courteous acceptance thereof." And Masters thinks it "highly probable that his promise of compliance with the church of England, was only not to give disturbance, and that he never formally recanted his opinions." * And Ainsworth intimated pretty plainly his opinion of Browne, when he said to Bernard — who had argued against the cause of separation, that "Mr. Browne revolted and came back from you" — "How well Mr. Browne approveth of your church, though he live in it, if you ask him, I suppose he will tell you." †

"For my own part (whose nativity Providence placed within a mile of this Browne his pastoral charge)" continues Fuller, "I have, when a youth, often beheld him. He was of an imperious nature, offended if what he affirmed but in common discourse were not instantly received as an oracle. He was then so far from the sabbatarian strictness to which precise Brownists did afterwards pretend, that both in judgment and practice he seemed rather libertine therein. In a word, he had in my time a wife, with whom for many years he never lived, parted from her on some distaste; and a church, wherein he never preached, though he received the profits thereof." ‡ Another contemporary (probably Bridwell) writing against Brownism in 1588, says: "Barrowe and Greenwood

* *Hist. C. C. C.* 284.

† *Counterpoisson*, p. 28.

‡ *Ch. Hist.* bk. ix. sect. 6.

nakedly discovered their profession, and are prisoners. Browne cunningly counterfeiteth conformity, and dissembleth with his own soul for liberty." * Strype says: "Mr. Browne could not leave his opinions, but he still remained conceited and very fanciful." † And Baylie says: "The course of his life, to his deep old age, was so extremely scandalous, that more than ordinary charity is needful to persuade, that ever he was led by a good spirit." ‡

Without calling in question the general accuracy of these representations by his contemporaries, of Browne's character and conduct in his latter days, it is obvious to remark, that they all relate to him after his apostasy from his early faith and while he was in full fellowship with the church of England. His history is that of many other apostates. Men who violate their consciences for filthy lucre's sake are very apt to become reckless and abandoned — Judas Iscariot, for example. While a leader among the Brownists, no irregularity of life is charged against Robert Browne. Yet he was hunted like a wild beast, from city to city, and shut up in half the prisons of England. But when he consented to conform outwardly to the church of England, he was honored with a comfortable vicarage, from which he drew his support to the day of his death, though openly and notori-

* *Hanbury*, i. 28, note b.

† *Life of Whitgift*, i. 620.

‡ *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time*, p. 14. Lond. 1645.

ously an evil liver. The miserable end of Browne is therefore no more discreditable to the principles which he early professed and vigorously maintained, than was the apostasy and miserable end of Judas to the principles from which he apostatized. And if any body has special reason to be ashamed of Robert Browne, it is the church of England, in whose fellowship he spent half of his natural life, and with which he was in full communion at the time of his wretched death.

In addition to Browne's works already noticed, Masters mentions "A Treatise upon the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew, both for an order of studying and handling the Scriptures, and also for avoiding the popish disorders and ungodly communion of all false Christians, and especially of wicked Preachers and Hirelings;" and "Certain Fables in Latin." In the Treatise, which he is said to have much valued himself for, he attempts to prove that the word of God doth expressly set down all necessary and general rules of all arts and learning. Masters adds, that Browne "was undoubtedly a man of good parts and some learning." *

There is a mystery about Robert Browne's career, which has often been noticed, but never fully explained. Though confessedly the most active and unscrupulous heresiarch of his day, who con-

* *Hist. C. C. C.* 254.

demned the hierarchies of England and of Scotland as anti-Christian, and their ministry as unscriptural, and for his bold denunciations was arrested, and even imprisoned more than a score and a half of times; yet after all, he escaped any very severe or long-continued punishment, and was able to reckon among his friends some of the gentry of England, and was protected and patronized by the Scottish court, and enjoyed to the last the special favor of Elizabeth's most distinguished official, Lord High Treasurer Burleigh. There is a mystery about all this, which never has been satisfactorily explained, and perhaps never can be now. Fuller says: "One may justly wonder, when many meaner accessories in this schism [Brownism] were arraigned, condemned, and executed, how this Browne, the principal, made so fair an escape; yea, enjoyed such preferment." * Bishop Freke, in his second letter to Lord Burleigh about Browne's return to Norwich, complains of "gentlemen winking at, if not of policy procuring the disordered sort to go forwards in their evil attempts." And Calderwood and McCrie both charge the Scottish court with befriending and encouraging Browne in his denunciations of the established church and ministry of Scotland. The "*Biographia Britannica*," in noticing Browne's repeated escapes from prison and severe punishment, ascribes them en-

* *Ch. Hist.* bk. ix. sect. 6; see also *Collier's Ecc. Hist.* vii. p. 8; *Heylyn*, 257.

tirely to Lord Burleigh's kindness, and says: "The lenity in the Lord Treasurer Burleigh's conduct towards his relation reflects honor on that excellent statesman." * And it is by reference to the relationship of the great statesman to the great heretic that most writers account for Browne's escapes from the bishops' prisons. But this relationship was, in point of fact, quite too remote to account for Burleigh's great interest in his kinsman's affairs, for, at the best, it was but a shadowy thing. Burleigh's *half-aunt* marrying a *half-brother* of Browne's *grandfather* could not have made a very strong bond of union and affection between the parties. And besides, the lord treasurer was not a man, with all his excellencies of character, likely to allow his sympathies to run away with his judgment; or to do, as a friend, what he could not as a statesman approve. It might have been convenient for him to call Robert Browne's father his dear cousin; and to profess much affection for "his kinsman," the wayward son; and he might have been entirely sincere in his professions; but the whole history of Burleigh proves that State policy, and not private affection controlled his public actions. He befriended Browne, probably, because he deemed it good policy so to do. He thought to advance the interests of the State in some way, by keeping Browne out of prison. And, considering Burleigh's leaning towards puritanism, and his

* *Biog. Brit.*, art. *Browne*; *Hanbury*, I. 24, note.

avowed dislike of the violent measures of the bishops, it is quite likely that he was willing to have their unchristian doings held up to the scorn of the people by the fluent and caustic tongue of his young kinsman, who had great influence with the populace.

If it be asked, why the same protection and encouragement was not afforded to others; it may be a sufficient answer, that Burleigh could conceal his policy in Browne's case, by reference to their relationship, as he could not in any other case. He did, however, interfere in other cases, as this history shows; and probably more frequently than is fully recorded: for, when he complained of Archbishop Aylmer, "for urging so much some ceremonious points * * * as not of the substance of religion," and "as more papal" than protestant; Aylmer retorted, that *he* was the man who did most discourage him. Burleigh also complained of Archbishop Whitgift's violent proceedings against the puritans, as "too much savoring of the Romish Inquisition;" and he and Knollys, both, disavowed Bishop Bancroft's doctrine of the divine right of bishops, saying: "It was lawful by the positive law; but to say that it was lawful by the law of God, that was another question." Other influential persons in Elizabeth's court are known to have been ill-affected towards the high-church bishops. Leicester was openly at war with them. Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seal; and Sir Francis Walsingham and Lord North, mem-

bers of the privy council, were also all opposed to the violent doings of the persecuting bishops. Foulis, in his "History of the Wicked Plots of the Pretended Saints," alluding to the execution of certain Brownists, between 1583-94, says: "These sound dealings did a little terrify the rest of the puritans, and checked the furiousness of the wiser sort. But having the Earls of Leicester, Warwick, and Shrewsbury, and Lords North and Burleigh, Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Francis Knollys, with others of the nobility for their honorable patrons, they resumed their courage."* And Brook, speaking of the bitter persecution of the non-conformists of this period, says: "Notwithstanding these violent proceedings, the nonconformists greatly multiplied, and they were much esteemed by persons of quality and influence. God raised them many friends in both houses of parliament, and in her majesty's privy council; as the Earls of Bedford, Warwick, and Leicester, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir William Cecil, and many others. All these were the constant friends of the puritans, and used their power and influence to obtain a further reformation."†

Such being Burleigh's sentiments in reference to religious persecution, and being thus countenanced

* Foulis, p. 61, Lond. 1662; *Peirce's Vindication*, pt. 1. p. 161; *Brook's Puritans*, 1. 58.

† *Lives of Puritans*, 1. 25. Also, *Neal*, 1. 417; *Hopkins*, 1. 492, 11. 283, 111. 346, and chap. 1x. entire.

by influential members of Elizabeth's court and council, it is not unreasonable to suspect that he may have connived at Browne's course for the reason suggested—to annoy and embarrass the clerical persecutors of the puritans.

CHAPTER II.

THE MARTYRS COPPING AND THACKER. — PERSECUTION OF NONCONFORMISTS, 1576-1583.

CONTEMPORANEOUS with Robert Browne, and of vastly superior and purer characters, were several clergymen and others who, from independent investigation, arrived at substantially the same views of church order and government which he entertained. Among these were Rev. John Copping, Rev. Elias Thacker, and Thomas Gibson. They suffered long and severe imprisonment, and finally laid down their lives in defence of their principles.

Of Mr. Thacker we only know, that he was a minister of unblemished morals and sound doctrinal views, who was imprisoned from about 1576 to 1583. Rev. Mr. Copping resided near Bury St. Edmund's. As early as 1576, four or five years previous to Browne's mission to that neighborhood, Copping, with a Mr. Tyler, another minister, was thrown into prison for nonconformity, on complaint of Dr. Daye, commissary of the bishop of Norwich. After an imprisonment of about two years, he was examined before Justice Andrews, December 1st, 1578; and refusing to give up his prin-

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ciples was remanded to prison, and there kept for some five years more, in company with Mr. Thacker, Mr. Gibson, and Mr. Tyler. It is intimated that the bishop kept them thus long in prison, "for decoys to catch and endanger men with." Tyler seems at length to have been released from prison, having, perhaps, given satisfaction to the bishop. But Copping, Gibson, and Thacker remained companions in suffering until led forth to the scaffold.*

The charges against Mr. Copping were, that he maintained "that unpreaching ministers were dumb dogs; that whoever kept saints' days was an idolater; that the queen, who had sworn to keep God's laws and set forth God's glory as appointed in the Scriptures, and did not perform it, was perjured; that none should baptize his child who did not preach"; that, in conformity with these sentiments, he had refused, for six months, to have his child baptized, and that when it was baptized he had neither godfather nor godmother.† Neal, however, says, that "these were only circumstances to support the grand charge of sedition in spreading Browne's book." The indictment against Copping and Thacker was, for spreading certain books, seditiously penned by Robert Browne, against the Book of Common Prayer established by the laws of the realm. And the special sedition

* *Brook*, i. 262-64; *Strype's Ann.* vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 186; *Neal*, i. 380; *Hopkins*, ii. 282, 315-17.

† *Brook*, i. 268; *Neal*, i. 389-90; *Strype's Ann.* vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 186; *Hopkins*, ii. 315-21.

found in Browne's book was, that it subverted the constitution, by acknowledging her majesty's supremacy in civil affairs, but not ecclesiastically. And so sentence was passed against Copping, Gibson and Thacker, on the statute (23 Elizabeth) against spreading seditious libels, and for refusing the oath of supremacy. They stood firmly to their principles to the very last, notwithstanding strenuous efforts to pervert them. And, though according to Strype they were sound in the doctrinal articles of the church of England, and of unblemished lives, were hanged like felons; Thacker and Gibson at St. Edmund's Bury, June 4th, 1583, and Copping on the 5th or 6th of the same month.*

These were the protomartyrs of the Brownists. But they were soon followed by other victims. Among these may as well be mentioned here — though the exact date of his execution is not known — William Dennis, or Dennys, who was executed at Thetford, in Norfolk county, for his Brownist sentiments.†

Besides these martyrs, there were others who suffered severely for entertaining similar sentiments. Among them were Lord Rich, of Rochford Hall, Essex; his natural uncle, Richard; the Rev. Robert Wright, domestic chaplain of Lord Rich; and "one Dix, another very disordered man,"

* See Appendix, note B.

† *Bradford's Dialogue* in *Young's Chronicles*, 412, note, and 427; *Brook's Puritans*, i. 58.

as Aylmer calls him. These were all arrested and cast into prison by Bishop Aylmer, somewhere between 1579 and 1582. Mr. Wright was a very learned man, and had lived fourteen years in the university of Cambridge, where he had preached seven years with a license and the approbation of the university; but having scruples about episcopal ordination, he obtained ordination at Antwerp, and on his return to England, became domestic chaplain at Rochford Hall, having John Greenwood for an assistant. Having intimated that "he desired now to fill the pastoral office," and that, in his opinion, the "election of ministers ought to be by the flock or congregation," a church was organized in Rochford Hall, Mr. Wright was invited to become the pastor, and "a service was held to implore the divine blessing on this new relation." * Thus was instituted one of those apostolic sort of churches in the house of a believer, of which we read so often in the Epistles.† The object of these good people in thus organizing a church was, not to make a schism, but simply to promote their spiritual improvement: consequently, they did not withdraw from the parish church, but contented themselves with an evening service at the Hall, usually at eight o'clock.‡

* *Dauids' Nonconformity in Essex*, pp. 69-70; *Strype's Ann.* vol. III. pt. I. p. 179; II. Nos. 23, 24; *Aylmer's Life*, 54; *Brook*, I. 289-92.

† *Romans* 16: 5; *1 Cor.* 16: 19; *Col.* 4: 15; *Philemon* 2.

‡ *Dauids' Noncf.* 70; *Strype's Aylmer*, 54.

But these movements were nevertheless considered disorderly by the State and Church authorities; and Aylmer endeavored to suppress them; and had, as he said, "many great storms with the late Lord Rich, and now lately, the present Lord Rich," about them; and when he refused to license Mr. Wright to preach in the diocese, the bishop tells us, that "the lord's aforesaid uncle did hereupon so shake him up, that he was never so abused at any man's hands since he was born." * The "disorders practised in Essex, and particularly in the house of Lord Rich," were finally reported to the queen; and Aylmer was commanded to "forbid them." He did it, by arresting Mr. Wright and throwing him into the Fleet prison, first; and Lord Rich into the Marshalsea prison; Richard, his uncle, into the Fleet; and Mr. Dix into the Gatehouse, where they were all finally confined.

Mr. Wright and Lord Rich addressed a petition from prison to the privy council, that they might be "either released or condemned." This was dated January 27th, 1581-82. But it was not until the September following that any of them could obtain release. Mr. Wright was required by Aylmer to subscribe "to the good allowance of the ministry of England and the Book of Common Prayer," and to give bonds with his friends, in "a good round sum, that from henceforth he

* *Dauids' Nonce*. 71; *Strype's Aylmer*, 55.

shall neither commit to writing, nor preach anything contrary to the same." *

The ten years immediately succeeding the martyrdom of Thacker and Copping were fruitful in cruel persecutions of the Separatists and other good men. Whitgift was on the throne of Canterbury from September 23d, 1583, to February 29th, 1603-4; and Aylmer was bishop of London from March 24th, 1576-7, to June 3d, 1594; and a brace of more bitter persecutors have seldom hunted for the precious life. The prisons of England were filled with their victims; and many a godly, loyal man suffered unto death at their hands, for nonconformity to the ritual of the English church.

Rev. Giles Wigginton, a zealous puritan who was repeatedly before Whitgift, and suffered imprisonment and bonds, and all but death itself at his hands, writing to a nobleman, from the White-Lion prison, in 1586, says: "My old adversary, the archbishop, hath treated me more like a Turk or a dog, than a man, or a minister of Jesus Christ. At Lambeth I was shamefully reviled and abused by the archbishop and those about him, as if I had been the vilest rebel against my prince and country. He then committed me to

* Aylmer's Letter to Lord Burleigh in *David's Noncf.* 72; *Strype's Aylmer*, 54, 57; *Brook*, i. 289-41; *Strype's Ann.* vol. III. pt. i. p. 179; pt. II. Nos. 23, 24.

the keeper of the prison, in Southwark, who, by the archbishop's strict charge, so loaded me with irons, confined me in close prison, and deprived me of necessary food, that in about five weeks I was nearly dead." *

In early life Aylmer professed to be a puritan and vehemently opposed the lordly dignity and civil authority of bishops. But with the putting on of the bishop's lawn, he laid aside his puritanism; and finally became one of the most cruel and relentless persecutors of his age. His morals seem to have deteriorated with his principles. It is recorded of him that "he was remarkably fond of bowls, even on the Lord's day, when he commonly used very unbecoming language, to the great reproach of his character." † Aylmer's own words, addressed to the queen in 1582, sufficiently expose his character. He thus boasts of his evil deeds: "To speak of punishment of disorders and corrupt opinions, [puritan and nonconformist views] was it ever heard of that any of my predecessors did either deprive, imprison or banish so many as I have done? Is there any man in England whom they take to be so professed an enemy unto them as they hold me to be? I am called a papist, a tormentor of God's children, a claw-back, a man-pleaser." ‡ These titles were very expressive of

* *Brook*, i. 420. See *Barrowe's* estimate of Whitgift, *supra*.

† *Brook*, i. 249, note; *Strype's Aylmer*.

‡ *Life of Hatton*, p. 245.

his character. His boasted cruelty to the children of God was fairly matched by his obsequious sycophancy to the queen, and to those supposed to have influence with her. See, for example, his letter to the Earl of Leicester, before whom he fairly crawls; and whom he flatters, and to whom he prays, saying: "I have ever observed in you such a mild, courteous and amiable nature! O, my lord! will God forgive, and her majesty forget, and my lord of Leicester retain and keep that which is not worth keeping, I mean the remembrance of offences?"* His cruelties sometimes seem to have disgusted Hatton, and even Elizabeth herself.†

* *Life of Hatton*, 848, 849.

† A letter written to Hatton in June, 1578, is a nauseating specimen of Aylmer's oringing, fawning sycophancy: "I beseech you sir, vouchsafe so to deal with me as I may not live but with her majesty's good liking. It is the honor of a prince to breathe life into dead bodies. I study with my eyes on my book, and my mind is in the Court. I preach without spirit; I trust not of God, but of my sovereign, which is God's lieutenant, and so another god unto me." — *Hatton*, 58. See also a characteristic letter written by the bishop to Hatton, May 28th, 1578. In another, written in March, 1581-82, Aylmer calls himself Hatton's "*own creature*"; and surely he was a creature of the serpent kind! "Sir, if you will have her majesty well served, your *own creature* somewhat in life preserved, and your credit kept uncracked for commending me first, protract no time," etc. — P. 240. Hatton's biographer, Sir Harris Nicholas, very justly says of these letters of "Doctor John Aylmer, bishop of London," to Hatton: "Perhaps prelatial hypocrisy was never more plainly shown than in some of these letters." — P. 51. Martin Marprelate is very severe against Aylmer — "Dumbe John of London" — "Don John" — "John

Multitudes of the more serious and conscientious clergy of the church of England also suffered severely about this time for slight neglects of ritualism. In the single county of Essex, according to the statement of the privy council, nearly fifty ministers were silenced or deprived in the course of about three years; leaving their parishes, for the most part either entirely destitute, or furnished only with "persons neither of learning nor of good name"; while a great number of persons in that county and in other places were occupying the cures, "being notoriously unfit, most for lack of learning, many charged or chargeable with great and erroneous faults, and drunkenness, filthiness of life, gamesters at cards, hunting of ale-houses, and such like;" against whom the council say, "we hear not of any proceedings, but that they are

Marelme" — as he calls him. He accuses him of habitual profaneness and sabbath-breaking; and of covetousness, if not of downright robbery; of an ungoverned temper; of unfaithfulness to his duty; of inconsistency, carnality and meanness; and of unrelenting cruelty and oppression. See *Martin's Epistle*, p. 25; *Epitome*, pp. 32-42; *Hay any Works for Cooper*, pp. 24, 71, 72, *et passim*: Petheram's reprints. Bishop Cooper's feeble defence of Aylmer against these serious charges substantially confirms the truth of some of Martin's worst representations. — *Admonition to the People of England*, pp. 39-47. See also *Maskell's Marprelate Controversy*, in relation to Aylmer's cutting down the elms at Fulham, for which Martin calls him "Marelme." *Strype* defends the bishop against the charge of plundering the timber lands; but yet admits, that he was ordered by her majesty "to take down no more of his woods." — *Life of Aylmer*, 46-48, 66-68.

quietly suffered." And this is represented as a sample of the "lamentable estate of the church." *

Petitions were sent to the privy council, by the clergy and by the laity, and to parliament itself, representing the sad state of the church in consequence of these violent proceedings; but neither the council nor the parliament could get any relief from the queen nor her persecuting archbishop.† Bills were actually introduced into parliament, in 1584-5 and 1586-7, for the relief of the puritans; but the queen sent for the Speaker, demanded the bills, and so treated him and other members of the House, that parliament dared not do anything in the way of reforming church abuses.‡

* See a letter of the privy council, addressed to Whitgift and Aylmer, in *Davids' Nonconf. in Essex*, pp. 79, 80; also *Appendix* to chap. iv., which contains "A Survey of Sixteen Hundreds in the County of Essex; containing Benefices, three hundred thirty-five; wherein there are of Ignorant and Unpreaching Ministers, one hundred and seventy-three; of such as have two benefices apiece, sixty-one; of Non-Residents that are single beneficed, ten; Preachers of Scandalous Life, twelve."

† *Davids*, 75-84.

‡ See a summary account of these proceedings, in *Hopkins' Hist. Pur.* III. 154-74; *Neal's Puritans*, I. 440-48.

CHAPTER III

JOHN GREENWOOD AND HENRY BARROWE, CONGREGATIONAL MARTYRS. — THEIR PROTRACTED IMPRISONMENT, REPEATED EXAMINATIONS AND SEVERE SUFFERINGS. — THEIR EXECUTION. — 1580-1593.

OF the great mass of the good men and women who suffered for their nonconformity between the years 1583 and 1593, we know very little. But of a few we have quite full records; and from these we may safely estimate the character and sufferings of others. Among the best known and most distinguished of these sufferers were Rev. John Greenwood and Henry Barrowe, Esq.* Though quite unlike in character and of different professions, they were intimate friends and fellow prisoners for many years, and in death were not divided.

Mr. Greenwood was a university scholar, probably of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and proceeded A. B. in 1580. He then took orders in the church of England; but becoming convinced of the

* *Paget* says: "Of this sect (the second sort of Separatists) Barrow was the father; afterward Greenwood, Brewis, Bois, Rutter." — *Heresiography*, 87. Of Brewis and Rutter I have not been able to find any account. Of Bois, I shall have occasion to speak in another place.

unscriptural character of these orders, renounced them, and became assistant chaplain, with the celebrated Robert Wright, in the family of Lord Rich, about the year 1581.* He was a married man, and had at least one young child in 1586.† Though he seems to have escaped arrest when Mr. Wright and other members of Rich's family were seized, yet his connection with that family must have made him a suspicious character in the eyes of the bishops, into whose hands he ultimately fell. The time of his arrest is not certainly known; but it seems most probable that it was in the autumn of 1586. He was thrown at once into the Clink prison, in London, and was there suffered to languish for months before he was subjected to any form of trial or examination whatever. At length, after having thus long been a close prisoner, he was brought to London Palace, Bishop Aylmer's city residence, and subjected to a severe inquisitorial examination, before the two Lord Chief Justices of England, the Master of Rolls, Lord Chief Baron, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London and Winchester, "with others." ‡

* *Masters' Hist. Corpus Christi*, p. 227, Cambridge, Eng., 1753; *Brook*, II. 28; I. 289.

† *Brook*, II. 84.

‡ The time of Mr. Greenwood's arrest, the length of his confinement before examination, and the date of this examination, are all in uncertainty. I have done my best to fix them; but cannot do this satisfactorily. I conjecture that Greenwood could not have been long in prison before his friend Barrowe; because all

The commissioners first required Mr. Greenwood to lay his hand on a Bible and take an oath to answer truly. This he refused to do; saying, that he would swear by the name of God, if there was any need, "but not by, or upon a book." They then proceeded to examine him, without an oath — as to the use of the Lord's Prayer, or any

their subsequent statements and those of their friends imply that their imprisonments were contemporaneous; and Barrowe, we know, was imprisoned in November, 1586; and Greenwood was before him in prison.

The time of Greenwood's examination could not have been when Barrowe was first examined; for Barrowe could hardly have failed to speak of it, if it had been. Paule, to be sure, in his *Life of Whitgift*, (p. 58,) says, the two were examined on the same day, and that it was in *November*. But Paule is not the best authority. And then, Greenwood says, he was examined at London Palace; while Barrowe's examination we know was at Lambeth. Greenwood's was before the high commissioners; while Barrowe's was before Whitgift, his archdeacon Mullins, and Dr. Cosins, only; and on the Lord's day, too, when the commissioners would not have been likely to hold a formal session. And finally, if Greenwood's examination had been in November, 1586, he would not have complained of the length of his imprisonment, as he did on the first examination: "I beseech you that I may not be urged by your law. I have thus long been close prisoner, and therefore desire you to show me wherefore, and not to entangle me by your law." — *Ex. Harleian Miscellany*, vol. II. p. 28. Greenwood's examination might have been on the 24th of March, 1586-7, the same day on which Barrowe underwent a *third* examination, and this time before commissioners "especially appointed;" and the very same men, too, who examined Greenwood. But then *Paule* says that the examination of both was in *November*, 1587. He may possibly be right as to the time of Greenwood's examination; but he must be at fault about Barrowe's, unless Barrowe has omitted to mention one of his chief examinations, which is entirely improbable.

stinted prayers — as to his opinion of the Book of Common Prayer — and his view of marriage — whether the church of England was a true established church — whether her sacraments were rightly administered — whether he held it lawful to baptize children — whether he would go to church — whether a parish was a church — whether a church should be governed by a presbytery — what were the officers of a church — whether it was lawful to reform what was amiss, without the prince — whether, if a prince offended, the presbytery might excommunicate him — whether the prince might make laws for the government of the church — what he thought of the prince's supremacy — whether he would take the oath of the queen's supremacy? To all these questions Mr. Greenwood was required to answer directly and peremptorily. "No prattling — answer directly — yea or nay," were the imperious commands of the commissioners; and no explanations, or reasons for his opinion on any topic were tolerated.

To these several questions Mr. Greenwood answered, summarily, as follows: The Lord's Prayer is a model for all prayers — "a doctrine to direct all our prayers by;" but "there is no commandment to say the very words over; and Christ and his apostles prayed in other words, according to their present necessity." Stinted prayers, invented by men, "are apochrypha, and may not be used in the public assembly." "The word and the graces of God's spirit are only to be used there, as saith Paul, Romans eighth." In the Book of Common

Prayer are "many errors, and the form thereof is disagreeable to the Scriptures." Marriage is no part of a minister's office. The church of England, with such bishops and laws as it is now guided by, is not according to the Scriptures. Its sacraments are neither true, nor rightly administered according to Christ's institution. He held it lawful to baptize children. He was no anabaptist. He would not go to their churches. If all the people in a parish were faithful, having God's law and ordinances practised among them, it was a church; but otherwise it was not. "Every congregation of Christ ought to be governed by that presbytery which Christ hath appointed, and no other." Its officers were a pastor, teacher, elder, etc. They ought to practise God's laws, and correct vice by the censure of the word. "The whole church may excommunicate any member of that congregation, if the party continue obstinate, in open transgression," without exception of persons. "The Scripture hath set down sufficient laws for the worship of God and government of the church, to which no man may add or diminish." The queen is "supreme magistrate over all persons, to punish the evil and defend the good;" but "Christ only is only head of his church, and his laws may no man alter." He denied all foreign supremacy, and allowed the queen's, so far as it was agreeable to the Scriptures; but no further.*

* *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. II. pp. 27-31. Royal 8vo. Lond. 1809. *Brook*, II. 29-38, gives the examination, but somewhat abridged, and not in the very language of the original.

Such, in substance, were the answers of the prisoner to the inquisitors' questions; and very unsatisfactory, of course, they were, and he was remanded to his prison.

From about this time John Greenwood's history becomes identified with Henry Barrowe's. They were henceforth fellow-prisoners and fellow-sufferers for the truth's sake.

Henry Barrowe, who was the son of a Norfolk gentleman of good family and wealthy, was educated probably at Corpus Christi, Cambridge.* He afterwards became a member of the honorable society of Gray's Inn; and was sometime a frequenter of Elizabeth's court. He was a man of talents and accomplishments; active, energetic, and fearless; doing with his might whatever he

* *Masters*, p. 227; *Hanbury*, i. 35, note c. *Masters* does not speak with confidence about either Barrowe or Greenwood. He says: "Henry Barrowe was *probably* of this college; for we meet with the name of Barrowe in the books, about 1568; and one called *Henry*, proceeded A. B., as appears from the university registers, the year following; there was another Barrowe likewise, in 1576; either of whom might be the companion of, and fellow-sufferer with John Greenwood, whom I take to have been a member of this house in 1577, and to have proceeded A. B. in 1580." *Masters* adds, that Barrowe "has generally been esteemed both a learned and ingenious man, although of a very warm and enthusiastic turn of mind." — P. 229. Henry Barrowe "was a gentleman of good worth, and a flourishing courtier in his time, and as appears in his own answers to the archbishop and Dr. Causens [Cosin] he was sometime a student at Cambridge, and in the Inns of Court, and accomplished with strong parts." — *Bradford's Dialogue*.

undertook. But he was a courtier, and for a time was tainted with the prevailing vices of the court, gaming and debauchery. His conversion from the error of his ways, as reported by his body-servant, was on this wise: Walking on a Lord's day, with a boon companion, he overheard a minister preaching in a very loud voice, which attracted his attention, and he said to his companion, "Let us go in and hear what this man saith, that is thus in earnest." "Tush," said his friend; "what, shall we go to hear a man talk?" and passed on. But Barrowe went in and sat down. "The minister was vehement in reproving sin, and sharply applied the judgments of God against the same; and it would seem touched him to the quick in such things as he was guilty of, so as God set it home to his soul, and began to work his repentance and conversion thereby." *

A man of strong passions, impulsive, susceptible of deep emotions — the entrance of divine truth shed such light on the wickedness of his heart and life, as for a season completely destroyed his peace, and effectually unfitted him for any of his old pursuits and pleasures. He was, indeed, "so stricken as he could not be quiet, until by conference with godly men, and further hearing of the word, with diligent reading and meditation, God brought peace to his soul and conscience, after much humiliation of heart and reformation of life." He

* *Bradford's Dialogue.*

soon left the court, retired into private life, partly in the country, and devoted his time to the study of the Scriptures and other good books.* Being well known in the city and abroad, his conversion excited much interest and occasioned much talk.†

John Greenwood was his friend; and probably through his influence Barrowe was brought into connection with the Congregationalists of that day.‡ With characteristic energy, he immediately dedicated himself — talents, acquisitions, and property — to the extension of the new principles which he had adopted, and to the edification and comfort of the despised and persecuted people with whom he had united himself.§

* *Bradford's Dialogue.*

† Francis Bacon, in his ill-natured notice of Mr. Barrowe, bears witness to this fact, and to his somewhat marked position in London previous to his conversion: "Barrow (being a gentleman of a good house, but one that lived in London at ordinaries, and that learned to argue in table-talk, and so was very much known in the city and abroad) made a leap from a vain and libertine youth, to a preciseness in the highest degree: the strangeness of which made him very much spoken of." — *Observations on a Libel, Letters and Life of Bacon*, vol. i. p. 166. Spedding's ed. 1861.

‡ *Masters* says: "They both might imbibe the principles of puritanism from Robert Browne, of the same house [Corpus Christi College], the founder of the sect of Brownists." But, in their joint work, an "Answer to George Giffard's Pretended Defence of Read Prayers," etc., they say: "What opinion the Brownists hold in the church of England, their worship, people, ministers, government, we neither know nor regard." And in another work, Greenwood says: "You term us Brownists and Donatists, whereas I never conversed with the men nor their writings." — *Hanbury*, i. 66, 67.

§ His care for them extended beyond his own life. "Thus

Between nine and ten of the clock, A. M., on the 19th of November, 1586, being the Lord's day, Henry Barrowe, in company with a Mr. Hull, went to the Clink prison, to visit Mr. Greenwood and other brethren there confined. They had not been together "the space of one quarter of an hour," when the keeper, Mr. Shepherd, came in, rebuked Mr. Greenwood for holding the interview, and arrested Mr. Barrowe; and though without warrant, locked him up; saying, "he had commandment from his Lord's Grace so to do;" and that if Barrowe was wronged, he might bring an action.

The archbishop was immediately informed of the arrest; and, Sunday though it was, about one o'clock dispatched two pursuivants with a *letter de catchet*, with the keeper of the prison, to bring the hated leader of the Separatists to Lambeth. Barrowe refused to recognize, or even to read the archbishop's letter; saying, he was already under the arrest of the keeper of the Clink. Arrived at the palace, after one of the pursuivants had communicated with "his Lord's Grace," the pris-

much we can affirm, from those that knew him, that he was very comfortable to the poor and those in distress, and in their sufferings, and when he saw he must die, he gave a stock for the relief of the poor of the church, which was a good help to them in their banished condition afterwards, yea, and that which some will hardly believe, he did much persuade them to peace, and composed many difficulties that were grown up amongst them whilst he lived, and would have, it is like, prevented more that after fell out, if he had continued." — *Bradford in Young*. 434.

oner was brought into the august presence; and the archbishop began upon him, by asking if his name was Barrowe; and why he refused to receive and obey his letter, sent by one of his pursuivants? Barrowe replied: "Because I was under arrest, and imprisoned without warrant; and therefore it was too late to bring the letter." He was then asked if he would swear. Barrowe replied: "I hold it lawful to swear, so it be done with due order and circumstances." A Bible was then brought, and he was told to lay his hand on it. But he refused, saying he swore by no books. After a long discussion on this point, the archbishop asked if he would swear without the book. Barrowe replied: "I will know what I swear to before I swear." Finding he could make nothing in this direction, the archbishop waived the point, and proceeded to examine his prisoner without swearing him.

Archbishop. It was reported that you come not to church, are disobedient to her majesty, and say that there is not a true church in England.

Barrowe. These are reports: when you produce your testimony I will answer.

Arch. But I will better believe you upon your oath, than them. Will you swear?

Bar. I will first know and consider of the matter before I take an oath.

Arch. Well, when were you at church?

Bar. That is nothing to you.

Arch. You are a schismatic, a recusant, a sedi-

tious person. I will not only meddle with you, but arraign you as a heretic before me.

Bar. You shall do no more than God will. *Err* I may; but heretic will I never be.

Arch. Will you come to church hereafter?

Bar. Future things are in the Lord's hands: if I do not, you have a law."

After some further conversation on this point, and a repetition of the charge of heresy, sedition, and schism, the archbishop proceeded to question him as to his occupation, residence, birthplace, mode of living, family, etc.; all which elicited but short and unsatisfactory replies for His Grace Barrowe was then asked, if he would give bonds to frequent the churches hereafter; and to appear in the archbishop's court when called for. Barrowe refused to do this; but offered to put in a bond for his bail in prison, and for his true imprisonment. This the archbishop would not accept; and made out a warrant for the prisoner's recommitment. And thus ended Mr. Barrowe's first examination.*

To this account of his examination, written by himself soon after it occurred, as near as his memory served him, Barrowe adds: "So the archbishop delivered me to the pursuivant, to carry me to the Gatehouse, where I as yet remain, neither knowing the cause of my imprisonment, neither have I as yet heard from him." †

* *Harleian Misc.* II. 12-16.

† *Id.* II. 16.

On the 27th of November, eight days after his committal to the Gatehouse, Mr. Barrowe was brought, a second time, to Lambeth, before the high commissioners. Here, he says: "I found a very great train without; but within, a goodly synod of bishops, deans, civilians, etc., besides such an appearance of well-fed, silken priests as I suppose might well have beseemed the Vatican; where, after, to my no small grief, I had heard a schoolmaster deny his Master, Christ. I was called. Canterbury, with a grim and angry countenance beholding me, made discourse how I refused to swear on a book, etc., as fell out on our first meeting: and demanded whether I were now better advised, and would swear. I answered, that I would not refuse to swear upon due occasion and circumstances." Then ensued the following interlocution:—

"Canterbury. Will you then now swear?

Barrowe. I must first know to what.

Cant. So you shall afterward.

Bar. I will not swear unless I know before.

Cant. Well, I will thus far satisfy your humor.

London [the bishop of London] began to interrupt; but Canterbury cut him off, and produced a paper against me, which he delivered to one Beadle to read. It contained much matter, and many suggestions against me, disorderly framed, according to the malicious humor of mine accuser, as: 'That I denied God to have a true church in England;' and to prove this, the four principal causes framed

in way of argument, as — ‘The worship of God with us is idolatry; *ergo*, no true church: They have an antichristian and idolatrous ministry; *ergo*, no true church; further he saith, that the Reverend Father in God, my Lord Grace of Canterbury, and all the bishops, are antichristian. Further he saith, that all the ministers of the land are thieves and murderers, and secret hypocrites; and that all the preachers of the land are hirelings: that Mr. Wigginton and Cartwright strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. Further, he condemneth all writers, as Calvin, Beza, etc., and saith, that all catechisms are idolatrous and not to be used.’ The reasons to these were untruly and disorderly set down accordingly in the bill, which I cannot rehearse.”

This paper having been read, the talking was resumed: —

“*London*. How say you Mr. Dean of Paul’s; here is for you. You have written a catechism.

Cant. This fellow deals indifferently and he makes us all alike. Thus far I have satisfied you. Now you know what you shall swear unto. How say you — will you swear now?

Lon. My Lord’s Grace doth show this favor to many.

Cant. Fetch a book.

Bar. It is needless.

Cant. Why, will you not swear now?

Bar. An oath is a matter of great importance, and it requireth great consideration. But I will

answer you truly. Much of the matter in this bill is true; but the form is false.

Cant. Go to, sirrah, answer directly. Will you swear? Reach him a book.

Bar. There is more cause to swear mine accuser. I will not swear.

Cant. Where is his keeper? You shall not prattle here. Away with him. Clap him up *close*, *close*; let no man come at him. I will make him tell another tale ere I have done with him.”*

Barrowe adds to his account of this second examination: “There was an article against me in the bill [of charges presented by the archbishop] for saying, that I thought elders were bishops; and Philipians i. 1, produced. Hereby I plainly discover mine accuser to be one Thornelie, of Norwich, with whom I had communication at Ware, as I rode to London, and never talked with any other about this matter.”

What a comment is this on the proceedings of these high commissioners! A Roman governor could say: “It is not the manner of the Romans” — heathen though they were — “to deliver any man to die, before that he which is accused have his accusers face to face, and have license to answer for himself concerning the crime laid against him;” but here a “Christian” tribunal, with the archbishop of Canterbury presiding, puts a Christian man on trial for his liberty, and even life, and

* *Harleian Miscellany*, II. 16, 17; *Brook*, II. 28, 29, for substance.

yet neither accuser, nor witness of any kind, is brought, nor even any distinct indictment made; only a cowardly attempt to entrap the lone and friendless prisoner into admissions against himself, on which criminal charges might be framed!

Mr. Barrowe was taken to prison again, and, in obedience to the orders of this spiteful priest, clapped up "close, close;" no friend was allowed to come near him for four long, dreary winter months; all, for the avowed purpose of breaking down his spirit, and making him submissive to the haughty prelate who then reigned supreme in England. But Whitgift had found his match for once.

On the 24th of March, 1586-7, Barrowe was brought out of the Gatehouse prison to undergo a third inquisitorial examination. This time, he tells us, he was brought before "certain commissioners thereunto especially appointed by her majesty, namely: the two Lord Chief Justices, the Master of the Rolls, the Lord Chief Baron, and another baron of the exchequer, I think Baron Gente, together with the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the bishop of Winchester, certain of their chancellors and civil doctors, with their registers and scribes. I being brought before the archbishop of Cant.," continues Mr. Barrowe, "he made known unto me that they were authorized by her majesty to examine me upon my oath upon certain interrogatories; and therefore called for a book. There was brought a great Bible in folio, fair bound, which the archbishop refused, and

called for another ; which was held to me by one of his men, and I commanded to lay my hand upon it." This, Barrowe refused to do ; and after a fruitless attempt to induce him to take an *ex officio* oath on the Bible, the archbishop said, " a Christian man's word ought to be as good as his oath ;" and taking a paper of interrogatories in his hand, continued : " What say you to this : Is it lawful to say the *Pater Noster* publicly in the church, or privately as a prayer ?

Bar. I know not what you mean by your *Pater Noster*, unless peradventure that form for prayer which our Saviour Christ taught his disciples, commonly called the Lord's Prayer.

Cant. 'I so mean.' Then commanded he the first question to be so written : —

Quest. 1. Whether he thinketh the Lord's Prayer may publicly in the church, or privately, be used as a prayer, or no ?"

When he had given his answer, the archbishop directed one of his attendants to write it down. But Barrowe desired of the judges the privilege of writing his own answers. This was yielded to him, and he then wrote as follows in answer to their several questions ; which, as a clear and compendious exhibition of his principles, deserve to be quoted entire : —

" *Ans.* It [the Lord's Prayer] is to be used to that end for which it was given by our Saviour Christ to his disciples, as a summary groundwork or foundation of all faithful prayers, whereby to

instruct and insure their consciences that their petitions are according to the will and glory of God : but that these prescript words are enjoined, or that Christ or his apostles ever used them as, or in their prayer, I find not in the Scripture. Moreover, I see not how it can be used as a prayer, seeing that our particular wants and present occasions and necessities are not therein expressed. And, therefore, I think it not to be used as a prayer. Here the archbishop cried out for brevity, and would not suffer me to answer any more questions at large.

Quest. 2. Whether he thinketh that any liturgies, or prescript forms of prayer, may be imposed upon the church ; and whether all read and stinted prayers be mere babbling in God's sight ?

Ans. I find in the word of God no such authority given to any man, neither such stinted liturgies prescribed or used in the primitive churches ; and therefore hold it high presumption to impose any one devised apocrypha prayer upon the church.

Quest. 3. Whether he thinketh that the common prayers, commanded by the public authority of this land, be idolatrous, superstitious, and popish ?

Ans. I think that this Book of Common Prayer, publicly enjoined and received in the assemblies of this land, is well-nigh altogether idolatrous, superstitious, and popish.

Quest. 4. Whether he thinketh that the sacraments, which are publicly administered in the church of England, be true sacraments or no ?

Ans. I think that the sacraments, as they are

ministered in these public assemblies, are not true sacraments ; and seal not the favor and blessing of God unto them.

Quest. 5. Whether he thinketh that the laws and government of the church of England, now by authority established, be unlawful and antichristian, or no ?

Answ. Because the laws, decrees, and canons of the church are so many and infinite, I cannot judge of them all, because I know not all ; but this I say, that many of them, as also your ecclesiastical courts and governors, are unlawful and antichristian.

Quest. 6. Whether he thinketh that such as have been baptized in the church of England since Queen Elizabeth's reign have been rightly baptized, or ought to be baptized again ?

Answ. I think as before of your sacraments, that they have not been rightly baptized, according to the institution of Christ : yet that they need not, neither ought to be baptized again.

I doubt, lest the archbishop hearing my answer of rebaptizing, caused it to be left out of the question, and my answer, taking that which might best serve their own turn, to bring us into suspicion of error, and hatred. Hereunto many speeches arising of the true and false sacraments, ministry, government, as also of the true and false church — I showed that the false church had also her sacraments, ministry, government, though not aright. Then Judge Anderson caused this question to be made to me : —

Quest. 7. Whether the church of England, as it standeth now established, be the true established church of Christ; and whether the people therein be the true and faithful people of God, or no?

Ans. I think that these parish assemblies, as they stand generally in England, are not the true established churches of Christ; and that the people, as they now stand in disorder and confusion in them, are not to be held the true and faithful people of Christ. Here the judge Anderson took exception, as the bishop of London also, at these words 'parish assemblies.' I answered the judge, that I could not for some weighty respects spare him that word; for I doubted not, but that the Lord had many precious and elect vessels among them, whom he will in his own good time call forth, whom it became not me absolutely to judge, lest I should enter into God's seat: Yet I could not, in the mean time, while they stand members of these assemblies, count them faithful. To the bishop I said, that when they should better consider of mine answer, they should have less cause to find fault.

Much trouble we had before we could agree of the state and words of their questions, with putting out and changing; which discourses it is not my purpose here to set down, so much as the questions and answers agreed upon and recorded; although, for some causes known to myself, and to some of their consciences, which may hereafter

be known to all the world, I thought it not impertinent to insert this.

Quest. 8. Whether he thinketh the Queen's Majesty be supreme governor of the church; and whether she may make laws for the church, which are not contrary to the word of God, or no?

Ans. I think the Queen's Majesty supreme governor of the whole land, and over the church also, bodies and goods; but I think that no prince, neither the whole world, neither the church itself, may make any laws for the church, other than Christ hath already left in his word. Yet I think it the duty of every Christian, and principally of the prince, to inquire out and renew the laws of God, and stir up all their subjects to more diligent and careful keeping of the same.

As we had much ado to come to the state of this question, so the bishops showed themselves evil satisfied with my answer, and said, that the papists dealt more simply than I did; and surely they very grievously interrupted me with slanders, evil speeches, and blasphemies, during the time of my writing these answers, especially the bishop of London; so that I was even enforced sometime to turn unto him, and show him of his shameless untruths and slanders. The chief justice of England here said, that he thought I answered very directly and compendiously. Here again, upon some speech that arose, the judge Anderson asked me, Whether I thought it lawful to hang a thief or no? I answered, that there were many kinds of

thieves, as sacrilegious thieves, men-stealers, etc.; that these ought by the laws of God to die. Then, he said, he meant ordinary thieves of goods and chattels. I said, that God in the law had ordained another kind of punishment for such; whereupon the bishop framed this question.

Quest. 9. Whether it be lawful for the prince to alter the judicial law of Moses, according to the state of her country and policy, or no?

Answ. I ought to be wise in sobriety, and not to answer more than I know. Great doubt and controversy hath been about this question a long time, but for my part, I cannot see that any more of the judicial law was or can be abrogated by any mortal man or country, upon what occasion soever, than belonged to the ceremonial law and worship of the temple, from which we have received other laws and worship in Christ's testament; but that the judgments, due and set down by God for the transgression of the moral law, cannot be changed or altered, without injury to the moral law and God himself. Yet this, as all my other answers by protestation, that, if any man can better instruct me therein by the word of God, I am always ready to change my mind. Whereupon the chief justice of England said, I spoke well; and therefore said, If I was in doubt, mine answer ought not to be taken. I said, I doubted not, but had set down my mind. Yet the bishops, because my answer fitted not their turns, as I think, commanded the question and answer to be blotted out.

Quest. 10. Whether he thinketh that any private man may take upon him to reform, if the prince will not, or neglect?

I asked, whether they meant of a public reformation of the State, or of a private or personal reformation of himself and his family: it was said of a public reformation.

Answ. I think that no man may intermeddle with the prince's office, without lawful calling thereunto; and therefore it is utterly unlawful for any private man to reform the State, without his good liking and license, because the prince shall account for the defaults of his public government, and not private men, so they be not guilty with the prince in his offences, but abstain and keep themselves pure from doing or consenting to any unlawful thing commanded by the prince, which they must do, as they tender their own salvation.

Quest. 11. Whether he thinketh that every parish, or particular church, ought to have a presbytery?

Answ. The holy government of Christ belongeth not to the profane or unbelieving, neither can it, without manifest sacrilege, be set over these parishes, as they now stand in confusion, no difference made betwixt the faithful and unbelieving, all being indifferently received into the body of the church; but over every particular congregation of Christ there ought to be an eldership, and every such congregation ought, to their uttermost power, to endeavor thereunto." *

* *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. II. pp. 19-21.

At the close of this examination, Mr. Barrowe was again remanded to prison, in the Gatehouse, and there kept until about May, 1587, when he and Mr. Greenwood were let out under bonds of £260 apiece; but we are quite sure that it was not on any "show of their conformity" to the reigning church, as Sir George Paule asserts.* Their entire history shows that they were not the men to make any pretence of this kind; and sure we are, that their experience of prison life in no degree quenched their love for the cause which they had deliberately espoused, and had fearlessly defended so long. But being "let go, they went to their own company;" and having reported all that the chief priests and rulers had said and done to them, they probably set themselves immediately at work to comfort and instruct the little persecuted band of Christians who still insisted on worshipping God agreeably to the dictates of their own consciences; and for this purpose met in each others' houses, in the woods at Deptford and Islington, in Nicholas Lane, in a garden-house near Bedlem, and wherever else they dared, to hear the Scriptures expounded, and to pray and confer together.†

* *Paule's Whitgift*, p. 59. "The foresaid broachers [Barrowe and Greenwood] of these opinions, at this their first convention, made show of their conformity, upon conference with some divines; and in hope thereof were enlarged upon bonds; but all in vain." — See also *Brook*, II. 38, 39.

† See the Examinations of "John Clarke, husbandman," "Edward Grave, fishmonger," and "Roger Waterer, servant to Robert Pavye," in *Life of Penry*, pp. 100, 101.

While thus engaged on the Lord's day, in a private house, — a little company of men and women, — the sheriff of London discovered and broke up their meeting, and hurried off Barrowe and Greenwood, and three of the brethren — Henry Thompson, George Collier and John Chamber — to the Clink prison; whence, after thirty weeks imprisonment, Barrowe and Greenwood were removed by a *habeas corpus*, to the Fleet, where they lay upon an execution of two hundred and sixty pounds apiece. Three aged widows, who were present at the meeting, Mrs. Maynard, Roe and Barrow, were sent to Newgate, where two of them died of the infection of the prison, as before related; and another of the party, John Clerke, a husbandman, was doomed to hard labor at the mill, in Bridewell. All this, for the crime of meeting in a private house, on the Lord's day, to hear the Scriptures read and expounded, with prayer, without the aid of the prayer-book, or the authority of the bishop's license!

The date of this arrest is not given. But it probably occurred about July, 1587;* and if so, Messrs. Barrowe and Greenwood had enjoyed their liberty less than three months. After their second arrest, they were kept in prison between seven and

* *Brook*, II. 38, 39; *Waddington's Penry*, 100. *Sir George Paule* says, Barrowe and Greenwood "were again committed to the Fleet, July 20th, 1588." — *Life of Whitgift*, p. 58. *Mr. Hopkins* (III. 467) places it on "the latter part of August, 1587."

eight weary months,* without even the form of trial or examination, suffering all the miseries of a crowded London prison of the sixteenth century. But upon the 18th day of the third month, March 18th, 1587-8,† Barrowe says: "I, Henry Barrowe, close prisoner in the Fleet, was sent for in all post haste, by one Rayland, a gentleman of the lord chancellor's, to his lord's chamber, at the court at Whitehall; where being arrived, I found in the withdrawing chamber, twelve of the bretheren, among a great number of other attendants, with whom I could not have any one word. But after Rayland had signified my coming, I was forthwith sent for into that chamber, where sat at the board the archbishop in his *pontificalibus*, the lord chancellor, [Hatton] the lord treasurer, the lord Backhurst, the bishop of London, in his *pontificalibus*. At the lower end of the chamber, stood Dr. Some, justice Young,‡ and others. Being kneeled down

* *Brook*, II. 38.

† See Appendix, Note C.

‡ Young was a London magistrate, one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, and, as a persecutor of the poor saints, a true yoke-fellow with Whitgift and Aylmer. On the coffin of a Brownist, who perished in Newgate, his fellow-prisoners put this inscription: "This is the corpse of Roger Rippon, a servant of Christ, and her majesty's faithful subject; who is the last of sixteen or seventeen which that great enemy of God, the archbishop of Canterbury, with his high commissioners, have murdered in Newgate within these five years, manifestly for the testimony of Jesus Christ. His soul is now with the Lord, and his blood cried for speedy vengeance against that great enemy of the saints, and against Mr. Richard Young, who in this, and many the like points,

at the end of the table, the lord treasurer began, and asked me my name; which, when I had told him, he asked me, if I had not been sometime of the court: I answered, that I had sometime frequented the court: he said, he remembered me not.

Lord Treasurer. Why are you in prison, Barrowe?

Bar. I am in prison, my lord, upon the statute made for recusants.

Lord Treas. Why will you not go to church?

Bar. My whole desire is to come to the church of God.

Lord Treas. Thou art a fantastical fellow, I see; but why not to our churches?"

Then followed a long desultory conversation, in which the lord treasurer, Burleigh, took the lead. It related to Barrowe's reasons for not going to the parish churches; his objections to the Book of Common Prayer, to saints' days, eves, fasts, feasts, etc., of the church; the law of tithes, the title of priest, etc. In the course of this conversation, the archbishop and the bishop of London took occasion to revile the poor prisoner from time to time. The archbishop said, he "was a strower of errors; and that therefore he had committed" him. To

hath abused his power for the upholding of the Romish antichrist prelacy and priesthood. He died A. D. 1592." The corpse, bearing this inscription, was carried by some of the brethren still at liberty, through the streets of London, to the door of Justice Young. — *Neal*, i. 520; *Hanbury*, i. 190; *Strype's Annals*, iv. 186.

which Barrowe replied: "Indeed, you committed me half a year, close prisoner in the Gatehouse; and I never until now, understood the cause why, neither as yet know I what errors they be; show them, therefore, I pray you.

Lord Treas. You complained to us of injustice. Wherein have you wrong?

Bar. My lord, in that we are thus imprisoned without due trial.

Lord Treas. Why? You said you were condemned upon the statute.

Bar. Unjustly, my lord; that statute was not made for us.

Then, in a word or two, I complaining of the misery and lingering close imprisonment which we suffer; the lord treasurer demanded, if we had had no conference? The bishop of London answered, that sundry had been with us, as Dr. Some, Graviat, and others, but we mocked them that came unto us.

Bar. This is not true, the Lord knoweth. We mock no creature. Neither do I know, or have ever seen that Graviat you speak of. But miserable physicians are you all. For Mr. Some, he indeed was with me, but never would enter disputation."

Barrowe then besought the lords to grant a public conference, that it might appear to all men what they held, and wherein they erred. But "the archbishop in great choler said, we should have no conference public; we had published too much

already; and therefore he now committed us close prisoners."

In answer to questions from the lord treasurer, Barrowe declared his belief, that with the change of the Jewish priesthood, the law of tithes was abrogated; quoting Hebrews vii. 12 and Galatians vi. 6 in support of his opinion. And insisted, that if a Christian minister had "things necessary, as food and raiment, he ought to hold himself contented; neither ought the church to give him more."

Just at the conclusion of this examination, the lord chancellor, Hatton, asked Barrowe if he knew those two men, pointing to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London. Barrowe replied: "Yes, my lord, I have cause to know them."

Lord Chanc. But what, is not this the bishop of London?

Bar. I know him for no bishop.

Lord Chanc. What is he then?

Bar. His name is Elmar [Aylmer], my lord."

To which Barrowe adds, in writing out his account: "The Lord pardon my fault, that I laid him not open for a wolf, a bloody persecutor and apostate. But by this time the warden's man plucked me up."

The lord chancellor then asked: "What is that man?" pointing to the archbishop of Canterbury.

"*Bar.* The Lord gave me the spirit of boldness, so that I answered: He is a monster; a miserable

compound: I know not what to make him. He is neither ecclesiastical nor civil: even that second beast spoken of in the Revelation.

Lord Treas. Where is that place? Show it."

"So," says Barrowe, "I turned to the thirteenth chapter, and began at the eleventh verse, and read a little. Then I turned to 2 Thessalonians, second chapter. But the beast arose for anger, gnashing his teeth, and said: 'Will you suffer him, my lords!' So I was plucked up by the warden's man from my knees, and carried away." *

This examination appears to have been the last, of an inquisitorial character, to which Mr. Barrowe was subjected. It shows most clearly the unbroken spirit of the man, notwithstanding nearly fourteen months close and cruel confinement; at the same time it furnishes a fair specimen of his promptness and aptness in confessing and defending his faith, under the most trying circumstances. And as Barrowe was an acknowledged leader among the Congregationalists of his day — after whom they were sometimes called Barrowists — these examinations no doubt give us essentially the ecclesiastical views of those good people.

It is noticeable how Barrowe always discriminated between a nobleman and a bishop. To the former he was respectful and courtly; while he utterly scouted the hierarchal titles of "lord bishops," and never gave any title to Whitgift or Ayl-

* *Harleian Miscellany*, II. 22-27.

mer, in addressing them. And when his attention was directed to this omission, he denounced the archbishop as "a monster; a miserable compound; neither ecclesiastical nor civil, but that second beast spoken of in Revelation," which came out of the earth, having two horns like a lamb, and speaking like a dragon. — Rev. xiii. 11.

After this examination Barrowe and his friend Greenwood were left to the tender mercies of their jailors until March 21, 1592-3.* They were then

* *Strype's Whitgift*, II. 186.

Mr. Greenwood was probably out of prison, on parole, sometime in the autumn of 1592: for in a "Supplication" of the Separatists, to the lords of the council, preserved by *Strype* (*Ann.* IV. No. 62) we read: "About a month since their pursuivants [the bishops], late in the night, entered, in the queen's name, into an honest citizen's house, upon Ludgate hill, where, after they had at their pleasure searched and ransacked all places, chests, etc., of the house, they there apprehended two of our ministers, Francis Johnson, without any warrant at all, and John Greenwood; both of whom, between one and two of the clock, after midnight, they with bills and staves led to the counter of Wood street, taking assurance of Edward Boys, the owner of the house, until the next day, that he were sent for; at which time the archbishop, with certain doctors his associates, committed them all three to close prison; two unto the Clink [Boys and Johnson], the third [Greenwood] again to the Fleet, where they remain in great distress."

Mr. Waddington says, that this arrest took place on the night of Dec. 5, 1592. — *Life of Penry*, 105. See further particulars of this supplication, in a subsequent chapter of this work.

How Mr. Greenwood came to be in Mr. Boys' house that night, we are not informed. There is no other intimation in all his history that he was at large after his second confinement in the Fleet. The probability is, that his keeper released him for a few days, or a single night, on his parole of honor, having confidence

brought out and tried at the Old Bailey, on an indictment "for writing and publishing sundry seditious books and pamphlets, tending to the slander of the queen and government, contrary to the statute of 23 of Elizabeth." *

The distinct counts in the indictment for sedition, were: First, That he had written and published, that the queen's majesty was unbaptized. Secondly, That the state was wholly corrupt, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, in the laws, judgments, judges, customs, etc.; so that none that feared God could live in peace therein. Thirdly, That all the people in the land were infidels.

To this indictment, Barrowe answered, for himself and his associate Greenwood: First, generally, that his words were either mistaken or misconstrued. That neither in meaning, matter, nor words, could any sedition against the queen or her government be justly found; for from the heart he honored the queen. That the matter of his books was merely controversial between himself and the clergy; and that what he had said was either in answer to the slanders of the clergy, or

in his integrity. We have examples of this kind in puritan history. Thus the celebrated Robert Wright, the friend and associate of Mr. Greenwood in the family of Lord Rich, was allowed to go into the country, to see his sick wife, on his promise to return into custody again at a given time. — See Wright's Letter in *Waddington's Penry*, p. 254; *Neal*, II. 384.

* See *ante*, vol. II. pp. 505-7.

in assertion of what they, the prisoners, held. That, if he had offended any one, it was rather casual, and through haste, than of any evil intent.

More particularly, he answered, to the first count of the indictment, respecting the baptism of the queen, that it was an utter mistake, contrary to his meaning, and his express words in the part of his book quoted; as would be apparent to any impartial reader. To the second count he plead, that he was merely quoting the words of Isaiah, 1st chap., and Revelations 13th, to show that when the ministry — the salt, the light — was corrupt, the body, and all the parts must needs be unsound. To the third count he answered, that he gladly embraced and believed the common faith received and professed in this land, as holy and sound; and had reverend estimation of sundry, and good hope of many hundred thousands in the land; though he utterly disliked the whole hierarchal constitution, and government, and worship of the church of England.

In reply to the charge founded on sundry passages culled from his writings, designed to show that he regarded the queen and her government antichristian, he declared, that the passages were wrested from their true meaning; since everywhere in his writings he had protested his exceeding good opinion and reverend estimation of her majesty's royal person and government, above all other princes in the world, for her most rare and singular virtues and endowments; and had acknowledged

all duty and obedience to her majesty's government, in all causes and persons, whether ecclesiastical or civil.*

But, as this was in reality only an ecclesiastical trial before a court of law—in order to screen the bishops from the odium of murdering men who accepted all the doctrinal articles of the church and only dissented from its hierarchal and unscriptural government—these protests of the prisoners availed nothing, and the jury found them guilty of treason. Sentence of death was immediately passed upon them both, March 23d, 1592–3, and they were ordered to execution on the next day.

At the same time Mr. Scipio, or Saxio, Bellot, gentleman; Robert Bowle, or Bowley, fishmonger, of London; and Daniel Studley, girdler, were condemned to death, for publishing and dispensing Greenwood and Barrowe's "seditious books." †

* Letter to a Countess in *Ainsworth's Apology and Defence of the Brownists*, 1604. See also Waddington's *Hidden Church*, pp. 78–91, published by the Congregational Board of Publication.

† *Strype's Whitgift*, II. 187. Bellot is reported to have repented and sought favor; the others, "not one of them, made any countenance of submission, but rather persisted in that they were convicted of."—Egerton's letter to Lord Burleigh, in the Egerton Papers, in *Camden Soc. Publications*, pp. 166–79, and in *Waddington's Penny*, pp. 116, 117; *Strype's Whitgift*, II. 187. *Brook* (II. 41) says, "Saxio Bellot, gent., Daniel Studley, girdler, and Robert Bowle, fishmonger. Bellot, with tears, desired a conference, and confessed with sorrow what he had done; and Studley and Bowle being looked upon as accessories only, though they continued firm, declaring their unshaken loyalty to the queen, and refusing to ask for mercy, were reprieved, and sent back to prison."

Early in the morning of the 24th of March, 1592-3, the prisoners were brought out, their irons struck off, the cart driven to the door, and their last adieus and embraces made, preparatory to their immediate execution; when a reprieve was unexpectedly brought to them, and they were returned to prison. This reprieve doubtless was in accordance with the queen's pleasure; for, at the conclusion of the trials, Attorney Egerton wrote to Lord Keeper Puckering an account of the trial, to the end, as he says, "that if her majesty's pleasure should be to have execution deferred, it might be known this night, and order given accordingly, otherwise the direction given by the judges in open court will prevail." According to custom in those days, condemned criminals were executed the day after they were sentenced to death.*

Two days after this, March 26th, certain doctors

Studley, after four years' imprisonment, was banished from the country, and Bellot and Bowle, not long after, died in Newgate."

Henry Ainsworth, in *An Apologie of such True Christians as are commonly (but unjustly) called Brownists*, published in 1604, a few years after the occurrence of these events, speaks of "Mr. Daniel Studley as a citizen of London, one of the elders of our church, who, after four years' imprisonment, was exiled, and so remaineth." He says nothing of Bellot's recanting; and the treatment which Bellot received, seems to throw some doubt on this imputation: for he, with Bowle, was remanded to prison, and there remained until he died. — "Mr. Scipio Bellot, gentleman, and Robert Bowle, citizen of London, both of them died awhile after in the prison, in Newgate, at London." — *Apologie*, p. 96.

* Egerton's letter, in *Camden Soc. Pubs.*; and in *Waddington's Penny*, p. 116; also *Strype's Whitgift*, II. 186.

and deans were sent to Barrowe and Greenwood by the bishops, to persuade them to recant their opinions and thus save their lives. Attorney-General Egerton accompanied them, and labored hard to convert the prisoners. But, men who had for nearly six years endured with unflinching constancy the cold, and hunger, and nakedness, and filth, and nameless plagues of a London prison, among vile, filthy, and debased felons, drunkards and murderers—men who could endure this, in defence of Scriptural principles, were not likely to be persuaded into apostasy by a company of priests clothed in soft raiment and fed daintily on royal bounty. Barrowe, in giving an account of this interview, says: "We showed how they had neglected the time. We had been wellnigh six years in their prisons; never refused, but always humbly desired of them Christian conference, but could never obtain it at their hands; that our time now was short in this world, neither were we to bestow it unto controversies, so much as unto more profitable and comfortable considerations."

After this fruitless attempt to shake the constancy of these noble men, for four days they lay bound in chains, waiting in hourly expectation their end.* Early in the morning of the 31st of

* *Letter to a Countess*; *Hanbury*, i. 48; and in *Penry*. "When sentence of death was given against the said Barrowe, Doctor Andrews (now bishop of Ely) Dr. Bisso, and Dr. White were sent unto him, to counsel him for his soul's health. There also accompanied them, Dr. Parry, now bishop of Worcester." — *Paul's*

March, 1593, Mr. Greenwood and Barrowe were once more led out of their dungeons, conveyed to Tyburn in a cart and placed under the gallows, the halters adjusted and all the preparations made for their immediate execution. Liberty being given them to speak a few words, they addressed the assembled crowd; for though it was very early, and these movements had been made very secretly, a crowd had assembled to witness the execution of these champions of Congregational principles. First, recognizing the fact that they stood in the sight of that judge who knoweth and searcheth the heart, in whose more immediate presence they were directly to appear, they solemnly protested their loyalty and innocency towards her majesty, the nobles, governors, magistrates, and the whole State. They protested, that in their writings, they had no malicious or evil intent towards any of these, or towards any person in the world; and declared, that wherein they had, through zeal or

Whitgift, p. 67. "It was thought convenient to have these men conferred with, [Barrowe and Greenwood,] as they were, March 26th. The manner and success of the conference with Barrowe, and what terms he stood on, and what disputations he required, the said attorney [Egerton] in a letter acquainted the lord treasurer with: in short, that he spent the whole afternoon at a fruitless, idle conference"—*Strype's Whitgift*, II. 186. *Waddington* gives Mr. Attorney's letter entire, though he says it was addressed to "the Lord Keeper," as follows: "I have spent the whole of this afternoon at a fruitless, idle conference, but now returned, both weary and weak. If my health will serve me, I will wait upon your lordship to-morrow morning, and make report of this day's exercise."—*Life of Perry*, p. 119.

unadvisedly, let fall any word or sentence that had caused offence, or had any appearance of irreverence, they were heartily sorry; and humbly besought pardon for the same, of all thus offended.

They then exhorted the people to obedience and hearty love of their prince and magistrates, and even to lay down their lives in their defence against all enemies; yea, at their hands to receive meekly and patiently death itself, or any punishment they should inflict, whether justly or unjustly. They exhorted them, also, to walk orderly, quietly and peaceably in their respective callings, and in the holy fear and true worship of God. And, as to the books written by them, they charged their hearers to receive nothing contained in them except they should find sound proof of the same in the holy Scriptures. Then, craving pardon of all men whom they had in any way offended, and freely forgiving the whole world, they engaged in prayer, for her majesty, the magistrates, people, and even their adversaries. Having both of them almost finished their last words, amidst the sobs and tears of the multitude, suddenly a messenger appeared, proclaiming a second reprieve from her majesty. The ropes were immediately removed from the necks of the prisoners, and Greenwood thus ended his prayer amidst the hushed but joyful emotions of the crowd: "Amen, and amen. And now, O most gracious Father, King of kings, who holdest the hearts of princes in thine own hands, what shall we render unto thee for thy most

signal mercy unto this realm, in bestowing upon us a queen, who doth plentifully, daily imitate thee in mercy!"

As soon as his prayer was concluded the multitude burst forth with renewed shouts; and all the way back to prison, the people "in the ways, streets and houses," greeted the prisoners "with exceeding rejoicing and applause."

For this second reprieve, the prisoners were supposed to be indebted to the interposition of the lord treasurer, Burleigh, who seems ever to have inclined to the side of mercy in these ecclesiastical prosecutions.* A supplication had reached him — though Whitgift had intercepted one to the queen †

* *Letter to a Countess, Hopkins*, III. 512, 513, and note 1; *Stow's Chronicle*, 765, *ut sup.*

† *Neal*, I. 527. Barrowe in his letter to Mr. Fisher, charges Whitgift with not only suppressing petitions to her majesty, but with "making and warning his gaolers, by extraordinary favor and entertainment, to give up a favorable, if not a partial certificate of the prisoners, living and dead." The Master of Requests, Barrowe says, was also accustomed to suppress all complaints sent from the prisoners to her majesty. — *Waddington's Penry*, p. 248. These studious efforts to keep the queen in ignorance of the true character of the prisoners, implies a consciousness on the part of the archbishop that his treatment of them would not bear examination.

It is noteworthy, that these Separatists, though sometimes bitterly denunciatory towards the lord bishops, were ever respectful to the secular lords, and confiding and reverential towards the queen. They protested their entire and fervent love for her, and prayed, that "the long and most blessed government of our dread and sovereign lady and queen, Elizabeth," might continue "to Melchizedek's age," if it were God's good pleasure; and that God

—complaining that in a land where no papist was touched for religion by death, the blood of these protestants, who perfectly concurred in the faith professed by the realm, should be shed for their ecclesiastical opinions merely. This moved the lord treasurer; and he obtained the reprieve.* He then communicated with the archbishop and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, but found them so violently opposed to any acts of mercy, that after first giving the archbishop and the bishop of Worcester “some round taxing words, and used some speech with the queen,” finding himself unsupported in his benevolent purposes, he washed his hands of further complicity with these bloody men, and left subsequent proceedings to be attributed, correctly doubtless, to the “malice of the bishops.”†

would “refresh and renew her princely spirit and body, as he doth the eagle’s bill.” — See “A Memorial of the Church to the Lord Mayor, the Magistrates and Judges,” from “a few of the poor people falsely and maliciously called Brownists.” — *Penry*, Appendix, p. 257. So Penry subscribed himself, “queen Elizabeth’s most faithful subject,” and protests that he “never devised nor wrote anything to the discredit or defamation of my sovereign, Queen Elizabeth.” — *Neal*, i. 582, 583. See also Barrowe’s letters to Fisher, and to the Countess, *ut sup*.

* “It is said their reprivall proceeded of a supplication made to the Lo. Tresorer complayning that in a land where no papist was touched for relligion by death theyr blood (concurring in opinion touching fayth wth that was professed in the realme) shold be first shedd,” etc. — *Phelippe to Sterrell*, in *Hopkins*, III. 517, note, from Waddington’s manuscript.

† See a contemporary letter of Tho. Phelippe, to William Sterrell, dated April 11th, 1598, in *The Hidden Church*, 95. — “It is

The reprieve of these faithful and true witnesses was but short; for on the sixth of April, 1593, they were led forth again, early in the morning, to Tyburn, and there once more went through the scene of addressing the assembled multitude, praying for the queen, and bidding each other farewell. This time there was no reprieve; and these two learned and pious men suffered the death of felons, as a testimony against the lordly power and tyrannical proceedings of the bishops of England, and the unscriptural character of their hierarchal establishment.*

Sometime after their execution, the queen one day inquired of Dr. Reynolds, who attended them in their last moments, what he then thought of those two men, Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood. He answered, that it could avail nothing

plainly said that their [Barrowe and Greenwood's] execution proceeding of *malice of the bishops* to spite the nether house [the Commons], which hath procured them much hatred among the common people affected that way." See also, *Hopkins*, III. 513, note.

* *Brook*, II. 41, 42; *Neal*, I. 526; *Rapin*, *Hist. Eng.*, VII. 528, Lond. 1760, 8vo. ed.; *Hanbury* (I. 49), says, May 6th, 1598; *Stow* says the first of April. — *Chronicle*, p. 765. "On the sixth day of the same month, presently following, being April, 1598, was he [Mr. Barrowe] and Mr. Greenwood, conveyed again to the place of execution, and there put to death. And this as early and secretly as well they could in such a case * * *." — *Ainsworth's Apology*, p. 95. Amsterdam, 1604.

Rapin speaking of these scenes of clerical persecution by Elizabeth, says: "No sooner was she established, but she hearkened to the suggestions of the clergy, who represented the puritans as seditious persons, who rebelled against the laws, and by their disobedience shook the foundation of the government."

then to show his judgment, since they were both dead. Her majesty then charged him on his allegiance to speak. He then replied: "That he was persuaded if they had lived they would have been two as worthy instruments for the church of God as hath been raised up in this age." Her majesty is represented to have sighed heavily and said no more at that time. But afterwards, riding near the place where they suffered, she demanded of the earl of Cumberland, who was also present at their execution, what end they made? He answered, "A very godly end; and prayed for your majesty, the State," etc. And "finally the queen asked the archbishop what he thought of Barrowe and Greenwood in his conscience. In reply he said, he thought they were servants of God, but dangerous to the State. 'Alas,' rejoined the queen, 'shall we put the servants of God to death!'"

The Rev. Edward Philips, of St. Saviour's Church, Southwark, near London, who was, Wood tells us, "by those of his large auditors (mostly zealous puritans) esteemed a person zealous of the truth of God, powerful in his calling, faithful in his message, powerful in his speech, careful of his flock, peaceable and blameless in his life, and comfortable and constant in his death," though a conforming puritan — "having conferred with Mr. Barrowe and beheld his holy preparation for death, said: 'Barrowe, Barrowe, my soul be with thine!'" And the learned Hugh Broughton, a contemporary, says: "Though Barrowe and

Greenwood were condemned for disturbance of the State, this would have been pardoned and their lives spared, if they would have promised to come to church." *

* *Brook*, II. 42, 162, 215; *Pierce's Vindication of the Dissenters*, pt. I. p. 147; *Wood's Athens, Oxon*, vol. I. column 789, 4to. Lond. 1813; *Hidden Ch.*, p. 97; *Masters' Hist. Corpus Christi Coll.*, 227-29.

CHAPTER IV.

THE WRITINGS OF HENRY BARROWE AND JOHN GREENWOOD, 1589-1593.

ONE of the minor hardships to which Mr. Barrowe and Mr. Greenwood were subjected in prison was the prohibition of writing materials. And they were often searched, and stripped of what were found on them. But notwithstanding these precautions, the prisoners contrived to do a very considerable amount of writing, and even publishing, during their long confinement. What they wrote, however, was chiefly on single sheets, or scraps of paper, smuggled in by those who brought them food, or by other friendly visitors; and these were sent out in the same way that they were brought in to prison — sheet by sheet, or scrap by scrap — either to be copied legibly by friends, or sent directly to the printers; chiefly to Dort, in Holland; when printed, to be smuggled back to England, and put into circulation.* These publi-

* The way this business was managed may be learned from the depositions of Messrs. Barrowe and Greenwood, Bowle, Stokes, Studley and Forester, in the *Egerton Papers*, pp. 166-77. Robert Stokes appears to have been the principal agent in procuring the printing of these works, assisted by the others above named, and by Scipio Bellot.

cations, though prepared under the greatest possible disadvantage, and often quite deficient in the graces of composition — of which no one was more conscious than the authors themselves — are yet of great historical and denominational value.* They contain a faithful record of their prison life, their repeated examinations, and their severe and protracted sufferings in defence of that fundamental Christian right of private judgment in things spiritual; together with a refutation of the slanders of their enemies, and a triumphant defence of their scriptural faith, against their numerous adversaries.

The very first issue, so far as we know, of this prison literature was a single sheet, entitled, "The Destruction of the Visible Church." This, according to Stokes, who procured its publication, was printed previous to March 1589.† Soon after, appeared a work entitled, "A Collection of Certain Slandorous Articles"; and "An Answer to George Giffard's Pretended Defence of Read Prayers." An edition of some five hundred copies of this work was printed at Dort, about March 1589, and smuggled into England.‡ Another of their early

* In one of their publications, Messrs. Greenwood and Barrowe say, apologetically: "If there be found, or rather abound any imperfect or redundant sentences, let those be imputed partly to the inconvenience of the place, the continued tossings and turmoils, searchings and riflings, and no peace, or means given us either to write, or revise that we had written." — In *Hanbury*, i. 58. See also Barrowe's letter to "An Honorable Lady and Countess," *supra*.

† *Egerton Papers*, p. 175.

‡ *Ib.* Ex. Stokes, p. 174.

publications was "A Collection of Certain Letters and Conferences lately passed between Certain Preachers and Two Prisoners in the Fleet." This appeared about midsummer, 1590; printed by Hanse, of Dort, by means of Robert Stokes, Robert Bowle, and "Arthur Byllet." * Another, was a letter from Barrowe to Mr. Fisher, dated December, 1590. This is of great historical value, as unimpeachable testimony to the severities practised on the Separatists of that period by Elizabeth's persecuting hierarchy.

After alluding to the "great providence of God" which had allowed a recent Supplication of the imprisoned Separatists,† to reach her majesty; having escaped the hands of the Master of Requests, whose custom it was to suppress all such complaints from her highness' eyes; and to the archbishop's efforts to keep the queen in ignorance of the number and condition of the prisoners for religion, Mr. Barrowe proceeds to say: "There was, we hear, an article in their Supplication, of above *sixty* souls imprisoned by the bishops. Here, peradventure, they will catch hold; because there be not now, I suppose, *fifty* in prison. But they

* *Egerton Papers*, pp. 172-75. "Arthur Byllett" was probably Scipio Bellot; whose name had the luck of being tortured into Stephen Bylett, Saxio Bellott, Arthur Bylott, and I know not into how many other forms.

† This Supplication, with the names attached, may be found in *Strype's Annals*, iv. No. 61.

have committed above *eighty* ; whereof many, through their tyranny, have revolted and denied their faith, and so were discharged. Sundry, through great straits, being starved to the death, or otherwise, obtained bail, until times prefixed, who yet are prisoners. And sundry have died in their prisons, of famine, cold, noisomeness of the place, and beating in their prisons, etc. The rest, as you may perceive, are in most extreme misery, want, and penury, in all the prisons, as the jailers cannot deny."

He then alludes to the statement in the "Supplication," that there was no coroner's inquest on such of the Separatists as died in prison, and says it is true : " Myself being in Newgate, there was no jury or inquest suffered to sit on that rare young man, Rich. Jackson, who there died. I demanded the cause, [and] as I think, Mr. Deux himself [probably one of the jailers] told me, that the bishop of London commanded the contrary. The like was [true] of the two aged widows that died there ; as also of old Mr. Crane. Further, they would not suffer the body of this ancient grave preacher and father, Mr. Cr., to be carried to burial into the city, through Newgate, lest the people, who knew his virtue and godliness, should espy it, and abhor their cruelty.

" There likewise died in Bridewell, a very godly person, called John Pardie, committed by the archbishop ; who there they put into their ' Little Ease,' and beat with a great cudgel very ex-

tremely, because he would not come to their chapel in their house. I omit to relate here how many Dr. Stanhope [Bishop Aylmer's chancellor] hath cast into irons, in Newgate; and of the boy of fifteen years old, he there kept in a dungeon, in irons, a whole year, for this cause; which boy is yet there prisoner.

"In the Clink and the Gatehouse, will, upon due examination, be found six poor men, whom the bishop of London hath held in the holes of these prisons now more than three whole years and three months, without so much as sending for them forth to any trial or examination, to any place, all this while. The cause why he committed them, and sundry others, (six of whom died in the Counter, Poultry, others there sickened to the death) was, for hearing a piece of the New Testament read and truly expounded, in one of their houses, upon a Lord's day. Means to send to any we have not, having none but these poor simple creatures to come near us. We dare not solicit the nobleman, you know of, [Burleigh?], any further. Yet he knoweth our cause, godly purpose, and innocency — no man better." *

In December of this same year, 1590, Barrowe — though he says in his preface that he could not "keep one sheet by him while he was writing another" — found opportunity to compose a treatise of two hundred and sixty-three quarto pages, en-

* See the whole Letter, in *Waddington's Penry*, pp. 248-252.

titled : " A Brief Discovery [or Dissection] of the False Church : Ezek. xvi. : 44. As the Mother, such the Daughter is." * About three thousand copies of this work were published at Dort, near Christmas, 1590.† In this treatise the author lays down, first of all, the broad and stable principle, that the word of God is the only, and a sufficient rule for God's people in matters ecclesiastical. He says : " Unto all the power, learning, deceit, rage of the false church we oppose that little book of God's word, which, as the light, shall reveal her ; as the fire, consume her ; as a heavy millstone, shall press her and all her children, lovers, and partakers down to hell ; which book we willingly receive as the judge of all our controversies, knowing that all men shall one day, and that ere long, be judged by the same. By this book, whoso is found in error and transgression, let them have sentence accordingly. Therefore, let us, for the appeasing and assurance of our consciences, give heed to the word of God, and by that golden reed measure our temple, our altar, and our worshippers ; even by these rules, whereby the apostles, those excellent, perfect workmen, planted and built the first churches ; comparing the synagogues of

* *Hanbury*, i. 39.

† " He sayth also, that the booke intituled a Breiff Dyssession of the false Church ; and the book intituled a Playne Refutation of M. G. Giffard's Book, &c., thys exam^t procured at hys charges, to be prynted at Dort, about Christmas last was two years." — *R. Stokes Ex.*, March 19th, 1592. — *Egerton Papers*, p. 174.

this land unto them, in the people, the ministry, administration, order, government, etc. This way cannot deceive us; for neither can the simplest err therein, neither any polluted, how subtle and cunning soever, pass by it unespied, unproved. For, as there is but one Truth, so whatever is divers — more or less than that Truth — is faulty and to be repented."

Touching the doctrine, "that a Christian prince, which publisheth and maintaineth the gospel, doth forthwith make all that realm, which with open force resisteth not his proceedings, to be held a church, to whom a holy ministry and sacraments belong, without further and more particular and personal trial, examination, confession, etc." — Barrowe objected: "This doctrine we find, by the word of God, to be most false, corrupt, unclean, dangerous, and pernicious doctrine, contrary to the whole course, practice, and laws, both of the Old and New Testament; breaking at once all Christian order, corrupting and poisoning all Christian communion and fellowship, and sacrilegiously profaning the holy things of God." *

He held most distinctly, that all church power was in the hands of the membership of the church, in distinction from the church officers, or church courts, as follows: "Now then, seeing *every* member hath *interest* in the public actions of the church, and together shall bear blame for the defaults of

* *Hanbury*, i. 40.

the same ; and seeing all our communion must be in the truth, and that we are not to be drawn, by any, into any willing or known transgressions of God's law : who can deny but every particular member hath power, yea, and ought to examine the manner of administering the sacraments ; as also the estate, disorder, or transgressions of the whole church ; yea, and not to join in any known transgression with them ; but rather to call them all to repentance ; [and] if he find them obstinate, and hardened in their sin, rather to leave their fellowship than to partake with them in wickedness." *

Respecting the officers of the church, he says : " The ministry appointed unto the government and service of the church of Christ, we find to be of two sorts ; Elders and Deacons. The Elders, some of them, to give attendance unto the public ministry of the word and sacraments ; as the Pastor and Teacher. The other Elders, together with them, to give attendance to the public order and government of the church. The Deacons to attend the gathering and distributing the goods of the church." †

The objections of the early Congregationalists to a prescribed and stinted form of worship, and to the undue exaltation of the Book of Common Prayer, are thus summarily and strongly expressed by Barrowe : " To let pass what, in times past,

* *Hanbury*, i. 41.

† *Id.* 42.

this Book hath been, how it hath been used, either by the pope or those bishops; we find it now to be the very groundwork of their faith, church, and ministry; in place, to them, of the word of God, as from whence they fetch all their directions for all things. Yea, herein above the word of God, in that, from hence they fetch not only their rules whereby to do things, but even the very things themselves that they do; as their liturgy, etc. So far is this book from being subject to the word of God, as it, in all things, overruleth the word of God, dismembereth, rendeth, corrupteth, perverteth, abuseth it to their stunted matins and even-song, to their idol days, fasts, feasts, etc.: yea, the word of God may not be taught but where this book hath first been read, and hath the præminence.”*

After alluding to the assertion of churchmen, that “the heavenly order and ordinances which Christ hath appointed, in his Testament,” for the government and discipline of his church, “are but accidental,” and that a church may take another order of government, and other ordinances, Barrowe indicates his strong dislike of Presbyterianism; which he calls “a new adulterate, forged government, in show, or rather in despite of Christ’s government.” He objects to “their pastoral suspension from their sacraments, their continued synods, their select classes of ministers, their settled

* *Hanbury*, 1. 48.

supreme council," and that the "people of the churches be shut out, and neither be made acquainted with the matters debated there, neither have free voice in those synods and councils."

He then adds: "The 'ancient ways' of the Lord are the only true ways; whatsoever is second, or diverse, is new and false. This I say, because both of these factions, of our pontifical and reforming priests, have sought rather to the broken pits, and dry cisterns of men's inventions, for their direction and ground-work, than unto the pure fountain of God's word."*

The energy and activity of these brave, bold men are further illustrated by another of their publications, in 1591, with a dedication to Lord Burleigh, entitled: "A Plain Refutation of Mr. Giffard's Book, intituled, 'A short Treatise 'gainst the Donatists of England' ['whom we call Brownists']; wherein is discovered the Forgery of the whole Ministry; the Confusion, false Worship, and antichristian Disorder of these Parish Assemblies, called 'the Church of England.' Here also is prefixed, a sum of the causes of our Separation, and of our Purposes in Practice, 1591."† This work was privately printed at Middleburg. While in the printers' hands, it was discovered by the Rev. Francis Johnson, "a preacher to the Company of English of the Staple" in that city. Johnson was a zealous opponent of the Separat-

* *Hanbury*, i. 46-47.

† *Ib.* 51.

ists, and was employed by the English ambassador to seize and destroy the work. To do this more effectually, he allowed the workmen to go on until they had finished the book, ready for delivery; when the whole impression was seized and committed to the flames, Johnson standing by to see the work thoroughly done. Out of curiosity, he saved two copies of the book, one for himself, and the other for a special friend. On going home, Johnson began to turn over the pages of the book cursorily, reading here and there a paragraph. At length his attention was arrested, and "something began to work upon his spirits," and induce him to read carefully the entire book. After he had done this, "once again, he was so taken, and his conscience was troubled so," that he could not rest until he had crossed the seas and visited the imprisoned authors of the book in London. This conference confirmed the impression which the book had made, and Mr. Johnson renounced his ministry at Middleburg, united himself with the Separatists in London, and became a great sufferer for the truth. He afterwards published an edition of this work at his own expense.* This second edition appeared in 1605, accompanied by "An Advertisement," explaining the circumstances of its republication. To this was added some Observations on Giffard's last Reply, making a volume of two hundred and sixty-four quarto pages.†

* *Bradford's Dialogue.*

† *Hanbury*, i. 51.

The "Epistle Dedicatory" alludes to some of the hardships and cruelties to which the Separatists were subjected, for their adherence to a simple, scriptural order of church government. In it the prisoners say :—

"Hitherto, Right Honourable, have our malignant adversaries had their full scope against us, with the law in their own hands ; and have made no spare or conscience to accuse, blaspheme, condemn, and punish us ; yea, to pronounce and publish us as 'damnable heretics, schismatics, sectaries, seditious, disobedient to princes, deniers and abridgers of their sacred power, etc.,' to the ears and eyes of all men, openly in their pulpits, and in their printed books published by the consent and approbation of their church. No trial, all this while, upon any suit or complaint granted us ; either civil, that we might know for what cause and by what law we thus suffer—which yet is not denied the most horrible malefactors and offenders ; or ecclesiastical, by the word of God—where place of freedom might be given us to declare and plead our own cause in sobriety and order ; that so the means appointed of God for our recovery might be used, and we, wherein we should be found to err or transgress, might be convinced to our faces by the Scripture, and left inexcusable !

"But, instead of this Christian course, they have shut us up, now more than three years, in miserable and close prisons, from the air ; from all means

so much as to write — ink and paper being taken and kept from us, and a diligent watch both by our keepers held over us, and also continual searches, upon one pretence or other, made — where we were rifled, from time to time, of all our papers and writings they could find. And being thus straitly kept, and watched from speaking or writing — their conscience yet giving them no rest in all their prosperity and pleasures, whilst we, the Lord's poor witnesses against their sins breathed — not to speak of their secret and indirect means, whereby they sought to take away our lives — they suborned, amongst sundry others, two special instruments, Mr. Some and Mr. Giffard, to accuse and blaspheme us publicly to the view of the world; each of them in two books: the one, labouring to prove us 'Anabaptists;' the other, 'Donatists.' * * * Wherefore, we addressed ourselves, by such means as the Lord administered, and as the incommodities of the place, and the infirmities of our decayed bodies and memories would permit, to our defence; or rather, to the defence of that Truth whereof God hath made and set us his unworthy witnesses, though as signs to be spoken against, and as monstrous persons in this sinful generation."

Of the church of England they say: "We condemn not their assemblies for some faults in the calling of the ministry; but for having and retaining a false and antichristian ministry *imposed* upon them. Such we here prove their whole

ministry to be, in office, entrance, and administration. In like manner, we forsake not their assemblies for some faults in their government and discipline; but for standing subject to a popish and antichristian government: and such we here prove theirs to be in the offices, courts, proceedings. Neither refrain we their worship for some 'light imperfections'; but because their worship is superstitious, devised by men, idolatrous — according to that patched, popish *Portuis*, their Service-Book, according unto which their sacraments and whole administration is performed; and not by the rules of Christ's Testament. Such we prove their Book, Worship, and Administration to be." *

Passing by much preliminary and controversial matter, we come to the following minute and satisfactory description of the manner in which every true minister ought to be called, and publicly ordained, according to God's word: —

"Every particular congregation, being a faithful flock, destitute of some minister — for example, of a pastor — ought to make choice of some one faithful Christian, of whose virtues, knowledge, judgment, fitness, and conversation, according to the rules in that behalf prescribed, they have assured proof and experience, in some Christian congregation or other where he hath lived. Such a one [they should choose for their minister] — the whole congregation being gathered together in the name

* *Hanbury*, i. 58.

of God, with fasting, and prayer for the especial assistance of his Holy Spirit, to be directed to that person whom the Lord hath made meet and appointed unto them for that high character and ministry. In which election, every particular member of the said congregation hath his peculiar interest of assent or dissent; showing his reasons of dissent in reverent manner, not disturbing the holy and peaceable order of the church. * * *

“ This choice, thus made, accepted, and determined, the elect is to be publicly ordained, and received in and of the same congregation whereof and whereunto he is chosen: if there be an eldership in that congregation, by them, as the most meet instruments; with fasting, prayer, exhortation, etc.: if not, then by the help of the elders of some other faithful congregation; one church being to help and assist another in these offices. But if the defection and apostasy be so general, as there be not, anywhere, any true elders to be found, or conveniently to be had, yet then hath the church that hath power and commandment to choose and use ministers — yea, that only hath that most high and great spiritual power of our Lord Jesus Christ, upon earth, committed unto their hands — power also to ordain their ministers by the most fit members and means they have. For the eldership doth not add more power, but more help and service to the church in this action. Neither doth this action — which is but a publishing of that formal contract and agreement betwixt

the whole church and these elect; the church giving, and the elect receiving these offices, as by the commandment of God, with mutual covenant and vow, each to other, in all duties — belong to the elders only, as separate from the church, to do it for and in the church; but to the elders, as the most fit members and instruments of the church. Otherwise, when the true ministry ceased, as in the general apostasy, they could never again be recovered in the church; because they cannot have this ordination of true elders, and so must the ministry, sacraments, and ordinances of Christ's Testament cease forever, and the true established church never be seen again upon earth; unless, with the papists, they will make a personal succession of ministers in some place, ever since the apostles' time: or, with Mr. Giffard, make a true, public ministry, sacraments, etc., in the church of Rome, in the deepest apostasy! which yet, of all other, is the most absurd proposition that ever was uttered by any man, or published and allowed by any church; contrary to all the rules of God's word; and even to itself: for, how can there be, by any reasonable man, imagined, or seen, public apostasy and public faith in the same estate, at one and the same instant?"

Another small work by Barrowe, of twenty pages, was entitled, "A Refutation of Mr. Giffard's Reasons concerning our Purpose in the Practice of the Truth of the Gospel of Christ." Following this was still another Tract, entitled, "A few

Observations to the Readers of Mr. Giffard's last Reply." In this Barrowe says, that Mr. Greenwood and himself had been "four years and three months, without trial, or relaxation, kept by the prelates in most miserable and strait imprisonment."

Yet another pamphlet followed from Barrowe's untiring pen, against Giffard's defamatory charges. Among other things, the charge that Barrowe spoke "profanely of singing psalms," is noticed and denied. He says that he had not "spoken against that most comfortable and heavenly harmony of singing psalms; but against the rhyming and paraphrasing the psalms, as in your church: nor yet so much against that, as against the apochrypha erroneous ballads in rhyme, sung commonly in your church, instead of the psalms and holy songs of the canonical Scriptures." *

* *Hanbury*, i. 61.

Rev. George Giffard, vicar of Malden, in Essex, in 1582, is represented by Wood (*Athenæ Oxoniensis*) as "a noted preacher, a man admirably well versed in the various branches of good literature, and a great enemy to popery." But he was a puritan, and refused to subscribe — "that there is nothing contained in the Book of Common Prayer contrary to the word of God"; and "having preached the doctrine of limited obedience to the civil magistrate, complaints were made against him, and he was immediately suspended and cast into prison. This was in the year 1584." Being brought to trial, he was released for want of evidence. But bishop Aylmer set his spies to watch him, and he was soon arrested a second time, for his nonconformity, and suspended and cast into prison. He remained under suspension, if not in prison, until after March 8, 1587. He was one of the sign-

The last pamphlet prepared by Barrowe, and published shortly before his death, in 1593, was entitled, "A Platform which may serve as a Preparative to drive away Prelatism."

During the same bitter imprisonment in which Barrowe wrote so much in defence of the principles for which he laid down his life, his fellow-prisoner, Greenwood, wrote an "Answer to George Giffard's pretended Defence of Read Prayers and Devised Liturgies; with the ungodly Cavils and wicked Slanders comprised in the first part of his book, intituled 'A Short Treatise against the Donatists of England.'" This appeared about March, 1589.*

In this work, Greenwood is bitterly severe on Giffard and his friends, the conforming puritans of that period. A single paragraph, in which Giffard's

ers of the "Book of Disciplines." He died about the year 1620. He was an able and prolific writer. And though called by Whitgift "a ringleader of the nonconformists," was bitterly opposed to the Separatists, and wrote several very severe, denunciatory treatises against them; for some of which he got pretty roughly handled by Barrowe and Greenwood. His controversy illustrates very forcibly the mutual hostility which marked the early history of the Puritans and Separatists. The former were for reforming the church and retaining the Establishment; the latter were for abandoning the whole, as hopelessly impure. — See *Brook*, i. 273-78; *Neal*, i. 427; *Hanbury*, i. 69. See further on this subject, Appendix, note D.

* "About thys tyme three yeares." — Stokes' examination, in March, 1592. — *Egerton Papers*, p. 174.

charge against Greenwood and his associates, of being Brownists, is noticed, will suffice : —

“ What opinion the ‘ Brownists ’ hold of the church of England ; their worship, people, ministry, government — we neither know nor regard : neither is there any cause why we should be charged or condemned for their errors and faults ; for which, themselves, and this church of England that receiveth and nourisheth all sectaries, heretics, wicked and abominable persons whatsoever, shall account. For us, whom it pleaseth Mr. Giffard to term ‘ Brownists ’ and whom he endeavoreth to confute in this treatise, we never condemned any true church for any fault whatsoever ; knowing, that where true faith is, there is repentance — where true faith and repentance are, there is remission of all sins. Far be it from us to condemn any whom Christ justifieth. We, for their idolatry, confusion, sacrilege, false and antichristian ministry and government ; obstinacy in all these sins ; hatred of the truth ; and persecution of Christ’s servants ; have proved the church of England not to be the true, but the malignant church. * * * We but discover their sins, and show them their estate, by the word of God ; refraining, and witnessing against their abominations ; as we are commanded by that voice from Heaven, ‘ Go out of her, my people, that ye communicate not in her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues,’ etc.”

In 1591, Greenwood sent forth “ A Brief Refutation of Mr. Giffard’s supposed Consimilitude

betwixt the Donatists and us; wherein is showed how his arguments have been and may be, by the Papists, more justly retorted against himself, and the present estate of their Church. By Jno. Greenwood, 1591." To Giffard's argument against separation from the church of England — that she was "esteemed and revered amongst the churches [abroad] as a sister" — Greenwood sharply and conclusively replies: "As for your 'harmony of confessions,' if it be not the harmony of the prophets, Christ, and his apostles, it skilleth nothing to us what consent you make. * * * Scotland, Geneva, France, etc., have another ministry, offices, choice, ordination, and ministration; another government, worship, etc.; * * * and now, hold to your argument, and see what will follow: The church of Rome hath the same confession of faith which you call your apostolic creed, that you have; yea, the Lord's prayer, as you call it; 'Athanasius' creed,' etc.; therefore they and you agreeing in this *harmony* of confession — are one body, one church! Again, these churches, you say, hold you 'to be the church of God;' and you hold the church of Rome to be the church of God, therefore you are one body all; and then you and all the churches, schismatics from your mother church!"

Annexed to the above work was another, entitled, "A Few Observations of Mr. Giffard's last Cavils about stinted Read Prayers, and Devised Liturgies." In this he demolishes very effectually the attempted argument from the Scriptures in favor

of prescribed forms of prayer, thus : “ That our Saviour, Christ, tied no man or commanded none to say over those very words when they prayed ; but to pray according to that form, after that ‘ manner,’ as Matt. vi., I manifested in my first writing : that our Saviour did not command us to use those words ; that Matt. vi. doth not keep the same words, nor that number of words, which Luke xi. doth ; that He did not say, *read* these words when you pray, or *say* these words *by rote*. After all which reasons, sliely passed away in both your answers, you come with your base affirmation, that He commanded those words to be said over by rote or reading : yea, a little after, you say it is false to say that he commanded not the very words to be said over when we pray. And you further conclude, that because Christ commanded his disciples to say over those words, therefore all men’s writings, in the form of prayer, may be brought into the public assemblies to be read for a prayer, being agreeable to the Word. To which I answer, That seeing no man’s writings are without error, it is pernicious and blasphemous doctrine you collect. First, because you make ‘ men’s ’ writings of equal authority with the form of prayer which Christ hath prescribed ; second, for that you give ‘ men ’ as much liberty and authority to frame and impose their liturgies as Christ had to set down a form of prayer, he being Lord of the House. The wickedness of which collections you shall never be able to answer. And,

because you here urge me thereunto, I will make answer to your two places of scripture wherewith, by false interpretation, you deceive the simple, which taken from you, your matter is nothing but cavilling.

“ The places are these, Luke xi., Numbers vi.; and because the one explains the other, and your collections [are] the same from both, I will begin with Numbers vi. 23, etc. ‘ Thus shall you bless the children of Israel, saying, the Lord bless thee, and keep thee,’ etc. Here, you say, they were commanded ‘ to use the very words prescribed, in all their blessings.’ This, I say, is not true; for the Hebrew word is *coh tebaracu*, ‘ Thus shall you bless;’ where the word ‘ coh ’ is an adverb of similitude, as we say, ‘ after this manner,’ which cannot be to say the *same*, but *according to* the same instructions. This word ‘ coh ’ is used throughout the Bible in this manner, in all the Prophets, when they say, ‘ Thus saith the Lord;’ where the sum of their prophecies is only recorded to us by the Holy Ghost, and not all the words. Again, this blessing is used in the Psalms and Chronicles, in prayer for the people, in many other words. Ely blessed Hannah in other words, etc. And, where by Luke xi. 2, it is recorded that our Saviour Christ commanded his disciples ‘ when ye pray, say, Our Father, etc.’ it is plain by the doctrines following, that Christ tied no man to the very words saying over; for he teacheth them to ask their particular wants, as a child asketh bread or

an egg of his father; also, to *importune* the Lord for our particular wants. But, to make this place more plain, the same Holy Ghost saith, When you pray, say thus, Our Father, etc. where the Greek word *οὕτως* hath the same signification that the Hebrew word, 'coh,' had, which is — 'after this manner;' and cannot be referred to the *very* words saying over."

In this work he reverts again to Giffard's "accustomed lies, slanders and railings," and says: — "First, you term us 'Brownists' and 'Donatists;' whereas, *I never conversed with the men, nor their writings!* I detest Donatus' heresies. And if they had been instruments to teach us any truth, we were not therefore to be named with their names; we were baptized into Christ's. Browne is a member of *your* church; *your* brother; and all Brownists do frequent *your* assemblies." *

As to what he says of Donatus, and of Browne and his followers, we do not understand him to deny that he held sentiments in common with them; but only that he had no acquaintance with them and their writings. He claims to have derived his opinions from the word of God alone. When he says "all the Brownists do frequent your assemblies," he must refer to Browne's personal and immediate friends and followers, who had been so far influenced by his example as to yield an outward conformity to the church of England by

* *Hanbury*, i. 69.

attending upon her public worship, as did very many of the puritans, who were inclined to presbyterianism. Many men hesitated to separate totally, even from a very corrupt church, so long as the doctrinal articles of that church were sound and scriptural. But Barrowe and Greenwood were for an entire separation from the English hierarchy; on the ground, that it was an essentially corrupt and antichristian establishment — that the church of England was no better than a *daughter* of the church of Rome. They argued their right to separate from the English church, on the same general grounds which the Reformers urged to justify their separation from the Romish church, and the argument was conclusive and irresistible.

There were doubtless many smaller publications by these prisoners of the Lord, which have escaped us; such as the “litle thyng of one shete of paper called the Destructyon of the vysyble Church,” referred to by Stokes in his examination;* but the chief of what these bold champions of Congregational principles published has now passed under our review.

Near the close of his confinement, Barrowe addressed an earnest request to Attorney-General Egerton, for a conference, or something of the kind, in which the Scriptures should be the standard of appeal.† This proposition was submitted

* *Egerton Papers*, p. 176.

† *Strype's Ann.*, iv. No. 112.

to the bishops, by Egerton; but they, very naturally, refused any such conference.*

While on this subject of petitions, we may as well notice two others, one of which is signed by Barrowe and Greenwood, and may have been written by one of them; and the other refers to these distinguished persons. The first is addressed to Lord Treasurer Burleigh, who was ever regarded by the Separatists as an honest, fair-minded statesman, and kindly disposed towards them, though he regarded them as errorists. It is without date, but was probably presented near August, 1592.† Strype says that it is endorsed: "This humble petition was put up of many poor Christians, imprisoned by the bishops in sundry several prisons in and about London." In this they humbly beseech his honor either to grant them speedy trial together, or some free Christian conference, or else in the meanwhile that they may be bailed according to law: or else to put them in Bridewell, or some other convenient place, where they may be together for mutual health and comfort." They then go on to say: "Pleaseth it then your lordship to understand, that we, her majesty's loyal, dutiful, and true-hearted subjects, to the number of three score persons, and upwards, have, contrary

* *Strype's Ann.*, iv. No. 118.

† Barrowe, in his letter "To Mr. Fisher, Dec. 1592," refers to this petition as having, "through the great providence of God," reached her majesty's own hands. — See *ante*, p. 84. *Strype* places this petition under the year 1592.

to all law and equity, been imprisoned, separated from our trades, wives, and children, and families; yea, shut up close prisoners from all comfort; many of us the space of two years and a half, upon the bishop's sole commandment, in great penury, and noisomeness of the prisons; many ending their lives, never called to trial; some haled forth to the sessions; some cast in irons and dungeons; some in hunger and famine: all of them debarred from any lawful audience before our honorable governors and magistrates, and from all benefit and help of the laws; daily defamed and falsely accused by published pamphlets, private suggestions, open preaching, slanders and accusations of heresy, sedition, schism, and what not. And above all, (which most utterly toucheth our salvation,) they keep us from all spiritual comfort and edifying, by doctrine, prayer, or mutual conference, etc."

This is signed by *ten* prisoners in the Gatehouse; *five* in the Fleet, among them Barrowe and Greenwood; *three* in Newgate; *eighteen* in Bridewell; *ten* in the Clink; *five* in the White Lion; *three* in Woodstreet Counter; *five* in the Poultry Counter; in all, *fifty-nine*; and the names of *ten* are given, who had died in the prisons.* Among the names attached to this remarkable document are several with which the reader of this history is familiar, besides those above mentioned:

* *Strype's Ann.*, iv. No. 61.

as, Walter Lane, Roger Rippon, Daniel Studley, Nicholas Lee, Christopher Bowman, and Geo. Kniston.

Another long, respectful, earnest, and very able petition, was addressed to the queen's privy council, about this time, probably by the Separatists who were then at liberty. In this Barrowe and Greenwood are particularly referred to, and also, the second arrest of Mr. Greenwood, with Francis Johnson, in a private house, about December, 1592.*

This petition sets forth the hearty agreement of the petitioners with the church of England in their doctrinal belief; their entire loyalty to the queen, and readiness to obey governors, and reverence superiors, and their "innocency in all good conversation towards all men." Their ecclesiastical views they declare to be derived entirely from the holy Scriptures, which her majesty had published and exhorted her subjects to read diligently and obey sincerely. They then detail the persecutions and sufferings to which they were subjected by "the Romish prelacy and priesthood left in the land;" who, they say, are their "only special adversaries;" and appeal to the council for protection and relief, and beg for a fair hearing.

But all appeals for relief or for a fair hearing were utterly vain. The nearest approach to a "free, Christian conference" ever allowed the poor

* *Strype's Ann.*, 1v, No. 62.

suffering men and women who were starving, and freezing, and rotting in the filthy, infectious prisons of London and vicinity was this: Certain bishops were directed by "the bishop of London, by order of the archbishop of Canterbury, and with advice of both chief justices, to repair to those prisons and prisoners" which were assigned to them "and seek by all learned and discreet demeanour to reduce them from their errors;" and "that either their conformity or disobedience might be made manifest when they came to trial," these visitors were required "to set down in writing" the particular days on which these visits were made, and the details of their conversations; so that, if there was occasion to use their testimony, the visitors might be sworn.* Or, in plain English: the bishops, like the Pharisees of old in their dealings with Christ, took counsel how they might entangle these prisoners in their talk, and sent unto them their disciples for this purpose, directing a careful record to be made of these conversations, that afterwards they might be sworn to if necessary, in order to reach the lives of these innocent persons. Such was the Christianity of Elizabeth's Hierarchy!

Some puritan ministers seem also to have been employed in this dishonorable business. The Rev. Stephen Edgerton, according to *Brook*, (II. 289,) was thus employed. And, if we may credit Sir Geo. Paule (*Life of Whitgift*, p. 66), Cartwright

* *Waddington's Penny*, 108. *Strype*, *ut sup.*

himself was once sent to Barrowe and Greenwood, on a like errand. But one interview with these brave, clearheaded men is said to have satisfied him, and he could not be induced to repeat his visit.

The last and most interesting, if not most important paper which emanated from Barrowe or Greenwood was a long letter from Barrowe, addressed to an "Honorable Lady and Countess of his Kindred." Though a private letter, it soon found its way into print; and from it are derived many important details of their history.

Though this letter has been already quoted very freely in these pages, for the facts which it contains, it would be inexcusable not to give some further extracts from its eloquent and affecting pages. It was first published by Ainsworth in his "Apologie or Defense of such true Christians as are commonly (but unjustly) called Brownists," in 1604.*

"To the Right Honorable, etc.

Though it be no new or strange doctrine unto you, right honorable and excellent lady, who have been so educated and exercised in the faith and fear of God, that the cross should be joined to the gospel, tribulation and persecution to the faith and profession of Christ, yet may this seem strange unto you, and almost incredible, that in a land

* See also *Hanbury*, I. 49, note; *Hidden Church*, pp. 78-91.

professing Christ, such cruelty should be offered unto the servants of Christ, for the truth and gospel's sake, and that by the chief ministers of the church, as they pretend. This no doubt doth make sundry, otherwise well affected, to think hardly of us and of our cause; and specially, finding us, by their instigation, indicted, arraigned, and condemned, and ready to be executed by the secular powers, for moving sedition and disobedience, for defaming the renowned person and government of our most gracious sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, and this State. But, right honorable, if our adversaries' proceedings, and our sufferings, with the true causes thereof, might be duly expended by the Scriptures, I doubt not but their malice and our innocence should easily appear to all men; howsoever now they think to cover the one and the other, by adding slander unto violence.

“Your Ladyship readeth, that the holy prophets who spake in the name of God, yea our blessed Saviour himself and his apostles, have suffered like usage, under the same pretence of sedition, innovation, rebellion against Cesar and the State, at the hands and by the means of the chief ministers of that Church, the Priests, Scribes, and Pharisees; men of no less account for holiness, learning and authority than these our adversaries. The faithful of all ages since, that have witnessed against the malignant synagogue of Antichrist, and stood for the gospel of Christ, have suffered like usage at the hands of this same prelacy and clergy, that is

now in the land, though possessed of other persons. The quarrel yet remaineth betwixt the two opposite Kingdoms of Christ and Antichrist; and so long shall endure as any part of the apostacy and usurped tyranny of the man of sin shall remain.

“ The apostacy and tyranny of Antichrist, as it sprang not at once or in a day, but by degrees wrought from his mystery to his manifestation and exaltation in his throne, so was he not at once wholly abolished or discovered; but as Christ, from time to time, by the beams of his appearing, discovered the iniquity, so by the power of his word, which cannot be made of none effect, doth he abolish the same, and shall not cease this war until Antichrist, with his army, power, and mystery be wholly cast out of the Church. * * *

“ While then we be, in the mercies of God, holding the most holy and glorious cause of Christ against them, that he might reign in his church by such officers and laws as he hath prescribed in his Testament; we fear not our adversaries in anything, knowing that their malice and opposition herein is made to them a token of perdition, and to us of salvation, and that of God. For this cause we are bold, both to stand for the holy ministry, government and ordinances of Christ, prescribed in his word; and also to withstand and witness against this antichristian hierarchy of the prelacy and clergy of this land, in their ministry, ministration, government, courts, officers, canons,

etc., which I, by writing, have shown to have no ground or warrant in God's word; not to be given or to belong unto the church of Christ, but to be invented by man; the very same that the pope still useth, and ere while used and left in this land. The like, others of us more learned, have offered, and do still offer upon the dispense of our lives, to prove by the express word of God, in any Christian and peaceable conference, against any soever that will there stand for the defence of the same.

"The prelates, seeing the axe thus laid to the roots of the tree of their pomp, not able to approve their ministry, ministrations, government, which they usurp and exercise in the church, by the Scriptures; sought to turn away this question, and to get rid of their adversaries, by other subtle and hostile practices; as at the first, by shutting up the chief of us in their close prisons; by defaming us in their pulpits, printed books and sparsed libels in the land; by seeking to inveigle us with certain subtle questions to bring our lives into danger; by suborned conferences with certain their select instruments; not to speak of the manifold molestation and cruel usage at their commandment showed us in the prisons.

"To their reproachful and slanderous books, being set of God, though most unworthy, and suffering for the defence of the faith, and being thus provoked by them, I held it my duty, according to the small measure of grace received, to make answer, which I also did more than three years since. Like-

wise to deliver ourselves from the false reports and witness that might be made against us in those conferences, we thought good to publish them to the land.

“ For these books, written more than three years since, after well near six years’ imprisonment sustained at their hands, have these prelates, by their vehement suggestions and accusations, caused us to be now indicted, arraigned, condemned, for writing and publishing seditious books, upon the statute made in the 23d year of her majesty’s reign.”

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Barrowe next gives the substance of the indictment against himself and his brother Greenwood, and their answer to the same, which has already been quoted.* Then follows an account of their conference with the bishops’ agents, which has also been given.† He describes, too, the scene at the gallows at the time of their second reprieve, given on a previous page ; and concludes his letter with the following earnest and affecting appeal to the “ right virtuous lady ” : —

“ Hereunto if God shall move your noble heart, right virtuous lady, not for any worldly cause, (which for my present reproach and baseness, I dare not mention to your honor) so much as for the love and cause of Christ, which we through the grace of God profess ; to inform her majesty of our entire faith unto God, unstained loyalty to her

* *Ante*, pp. 77-79.

† *Ib.* pp. 80, 81.

highness, innocency and good conscience towards all men; in pardoning our offence and judgment, or else removing our poor worn bodies out of this miserable jail, (the horror whereof is not to be spoken to your honor) to some more honest and meet place, if she vouchsafe us longer to live. Your ladyship doubtless shall herein do a right Christian and gracious act, acceptable to God, be-hooveful to your sovereign prince, comfortable to us, the poor condemned prisoners of Christ; yea, to his whole afflicted church, and most of all to your own comfort and praise in this life and in the life to come. * * *

“ Let not, therefore, right dear and elect lady, any worldly or politic impediments or unlikelihood, no fleshly fears, diffidence, or delays, stop or hinder you from speaking to her majesty on our behalf, before she goes out of this city, lest we by your default herein, perish in her absence, having no assured stay or respite of our lives; and our malignant enemies ready to watch any occasion for the shedding of our blood, as we by those two near and miraculous escapes have found. Only, good Madam, do your diligent endeavor herein, and commit the success, as we also with you shall, unto God in our prayers; which, however it fall out, magnified be the blessed name of our God, in these our mortal bodies, whether by life or death.

“ His mighty hand that hath hitherto upholden us, assist us to the finishing up this last part of our warfare, to the vanquishing of our last enemy,

death, with all his terrors, and to the attaining of that crown of glory, which is purchased for us in the blood of Christ, laid up and surely kept for us in the hand of God; and not only for us, but for all that keep the faith and commandments of Jesus. Of which number, noble lady, I hear and hope you are; and shall not cease (God willing) while I here live, to further the same unto you by my prayers and utmost endeavors.

“His grace and blessing, the prayers of the saints, and mine own unworthy service be yours.

“This 4 or 5 of the 4 month [April] 1593.

“Your Honor’s humbly at commandment during life, condemned of men, but received of God,

“HENRY BARROWE.”

This affecting and earnest appeal was Barrowe’s last struggle for life. But it was in vain. Whether the letter reached the countess and she neglected to intercede for her kinsman; or was intercepted on its way to the court; or the queen had left the city before the countess could see her — is left entirely to conjecture. The latter presumption seems most probable: for it is incredible that the good lady to whom this letter was addressed, and who, possibly, might have had more than an ordinary interest in Mr. Barrowe, could have failed to exert herself to the utmost on behalf of these imprisoned and condemned Christians, had there been any opportunity to do this; or that the woman’s heart of the queen could have resisted this appeal, if it had

once fairly reached her. The temporary absence of the queen from London may have prevented any immediate application to her, and this absence may have been taken advantage of also by the bitter enemies of the prisoners, to hurry them out of the world before anything could be done to effect their release. This supposition receives countenance from what Phillips wrote to Sterrell the day after the execution: "It is plainly said, that their execution proceeded of malice of the bishops." *

We have now finished the record of the lives and writings of Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood. In reviewing this, while we discover some errors of opinion, some defects of character and faults of conduct, we yet cannot withhold our admiration of the essential soundness of their views, the purity and elevation of their general character and conduct, and their heroic endurance of acute and prolonged suffering in defence of the truth. Here are two men — gentlemen — educated at the university of Cambridge, certainly of average, if not of superior abilities and acquisitions, accustomed to the best society in the kingdom, and with fair prospects of success in their respective professions — who, for conscience sake, renounce all hopes of advancement or preferment in State and Church, and casting in their lot with the despised and per-

* *Ante*, p. 85.

secuted Separatists of their times, voluntarily submit to cold and nakedness, hunger and wretchedness, obloquy and disgrace, amidst the filth, and disease, and crime, and misery of a London prison-house of the sixteenth century, for six long, weary, terrible years; and all with unflinching firmness, and unswerving fidelity to their principles, and despite the pangs of repeated deaths — because they would not deny the truth as they had learned it from the sacred Scriptures! There is a moral heroism in all this, which the annals of suffering since the days of primitive Christianity can hardly match! The martyrs at the stake, or in the arena, surrounded by sympathizing and admiring thousands, endured little compared with these men!

If it should be objected, that they were sometimes rough in temper, and in language not unfrequently sharp and denunciatory; let it be remembered, that for successive years they were compelled to stand forth, almost alone, against the combined forces of a powerful and unscrupulous hierarchy, the marks for slander and abuse, and the subjects of the most exasperating persecution, while their own hands were tied and their mouths sealed, as far as the most despotic human power could do this — let these things be remembered, and let the dying protestations and prayers of the poor victims be recalled — and few we think will fail to find strong palliatives, if not a full justification for their exceptional words and conduct. “Surely oppression maketh a wise man mad.” And to

admit that these men sometimes failed, under the most grievous oppression, to govern their own spirits, is only to acknowledge that they were merely human. And further, when it is remembered that it was not until these brave and faithful men had been badgered into these plain and harsh utterances against the ecclesiastical rulers of the realm and their popish, persecuting measures, that sufficient pretence against them could be found to ensure their condemnation and death — all dispassionate men must commiserate, rather than harshly condemn the faults even of these honest, brave confessors.*

These men believed that they had found the "pearl of great price"; and were ready to sell all that they had that they might buy it. They had bought the truth; and no earthly inducement could make them part with it. As the result of thorough investigation, they had felt constrained to reject

* Take the following, as a specimen of the clerical abuse which was heaped on these men, from the pen of the chief prelate of England, Archbishop Bancroft: "Greenwood is a simple fellow. Barrowe is the man who, when by roisting and gaming he had wasted himself, and run so far into many a man's debt that he durst not show himself abroad, he bent his wits another way to mischief; and so now becoming a Julianist, devising by all the means he could possibly imagine, viz.: hypocrisy, railing, lying, and all manner of falsehood (even as Julian the apostate did) how all the preferments which yet remained for learning (benefices, tithes, glebe lands, cathedral churches, livings, colleges, universities, and all,) might be utterly spoiled and made a prey for bank routs, cormorants and such like atheists. For so in his libel and writing Barrowe affirmed." — *Strype's Whitgift*, II. 187.

the hierarchal church system in which they had been educated, and, at the sacrifice of every earthly good, to embrace the simple Congregational system, as most in accordance with the teachings and the spirit of the New Testament. They could have saved their lives; they could have avoided persecution; and they could, doubtless, have obtained preferment, even, by denying their faith, or by dissembling their real sentiments.* But they were too honest to sacrifice principle to policy. They preferred imprisonment, and death itself — yea, six long years of imprisonment, and the agonies of repeated deaths — to a denial of what they believed to be the revealed will of God in reference to his church. The characters of such men, with all their imperfections, certainly deserve and must command our profound respect; and their writings, pregnant as they are with the great truths of the system which they embraced, and in defence of which they died, should receive the careful attention of all who would fully understand the history of Congregationalism.

* Hugh Broughton, by no means a friend of the Separatists, asserts, that though Barrowe and Greenwood were condemned for disturbing the State, this would have been pardoned, if they would have come to church. — *Masters' Hist. Corp. Christ. Coll.* 229.

CHAPTER V.

JOHN PENRY, THE LAST OF THE CONGREGATIONALIST
MARTYRS. — THE MARPRELATE TRACTS.

JOHN PENRY, or Ap Henry, was a kindred spirit with John Greenwood and Henry Barrowe, in whose ecclesiastical views he cordially sympathized, and with whose sufferings he had full fellowship. He was born in Brecknockshire, among the mountains of South Wales, in the year 1559, of an ancient and respectable, but decayed family. In 1578, at the age of nineteen, he entered a sub-sizer at Peter House College, Cambridge. "In 1583, or thereabouts," according to Anthony Wood, he took his first degree in arts, and afterwards did perform some, or most of the exercises requisite for master; "but leaving the said university abruptly (for what cause I know not) he retired to Oxford; and getting himself to be entered a commoner of St. Alban's-hall, finished the remaining part of his exercise, and in the beginning of July 1586, he was licensed to proceed in arts. About that time he took holy orders, did preach in Oxen, and afterwards in Cambridge, and was

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esteemed by many, a tolerable scholar, an edifying preacher, and a good man." *

What Penry's religious sentiments were on entering Cambridge, we have no satisfactory information. We only know that he was not a serious Christian. It has been assumed, from a scurrilous paragraph in one of the anti-Martin Marprelate tracts, that Penry was at first an "arrant papist," and so zealous, that he was wont to aid the priests in their midnight masses, at Cambridge.† But any one who reads the entire original paragraph will see that it is simply a piece of vulgar black-guardism, entitled to no regard whatever; and that even this does not assert that Penry *did* help the priests at their midnight masses; but only,

* *Athenæ Oxonienses*, i. col. 591.

† In *Wood's Athe. Oxon.*, *ut sup.*; *Waddington's John Penry, the Pilgrim Martyr*, p. 5. Lond. 1854. In "*An Almond for a Parratt*," by Cuthbert Curry-knave," alias Thomas Nash, pp. 39, 40, we read: "*Pen I Pen*, Welch *Pen* was sometime (if I be not deceived) a scholar in that house in Cambridge where Dr. Pen was master. Where, what his estimation was, the scorn wherein he lived can best relate." Then, after speaking of Penry's birth, and of his personal appearance, etc., in language too indecent to transcribe, he goes on to say: "To leave his nativity, I am to tell you how laudably he behaved himself in Peter-house during his subsister-ship. First, therefore, he began with his religion at his first coming thither. *Hoc scitote viri*—that he was as arrant a papist as ever came out of Wales. I tell you J. a P. in those days would have run a false gallop over his beads with any man in England, and helpt the priest, for shift, to-say mass at high midnight; which, if need were, I doubt not he would do at this hour." And this insinuation, that Penry was a papist in disguise, he repeats two or three times.

that he was papist enough to have "helped the priest, for shift" — if there had been any occasion. But even this judgment the libeller neutralizes, by telling us in the next line, that he doubted not that Penry would do the same at that hour; or in other words, that he was a disguised papist, notwithstanding all his professions and his sufferings for the truth's sake. However it may have been with Penry when he went to Cambridge, it is evident that he soon after became imbued with puritan principles; which may explain what Wood could not understand — Penry's sudden departure for Oxford; Cambridge being at that time a much less comfortable and attractive residence for a puritan than Oxford; Leicester, the chancellor, being friendly to them, and the celebrated puritan, Dr. Reynolds, being the divinity reader at Oxford.*

Although Mr. Penry was licensed by the university to preach after taking his second degree, he declined ordination, on the puritan ground that it was unlawful for a man to take on himself "an uncertain, vague ministry;" but that he must be ordained over "some certain church."† Neverthe-

* *Waddington's Life of Penry*, p. 7.

† That Penry's conversion to God and his adoption of puritan views occurred after he entered Cambridge, and were the fruits of the gospel there preached, is evident from his own words, when he says: "As for the Church of God, into which I have been begotten through the word preached by means of my abode in England in these peaceable days of her highness, I have wholly dedicated myself to seek the flourishing estate thereof, by laboring to beautify the same, both in plucking up by the roots these filthy

less, being a fluent and attractive speaker, as well as a learned, pious and zealous young man, he often preached with great acceptance, and might have had preferment, had not his conscientious scruples prevented, and his heart been set on doing the work of an evangelist in his beloved Wales.* His visits to his native land while a student, and subsequently, had not only made him familiar with the moral desolation of that country, but had afforded opportunities, in a quiet way, to disseminate the gospel among the people; and to this day, four churches in the neighborhood of Llangamarch are said to trace their origin to his self-denying and devoted labors.† So engrossed was Penry with

Italian weeds, wherewith it is now miserably deformed, and planting therein whatsoever might be for the comeliness of God's Orchard." — *Waddington*, 8; *Neal*, 1. 351.

* See his Examination by Fanshaw and Young. — *Harleian Miscellany*, II. 84, 86.

† *Waddington*, 8, 9.

Anthony Wood, after admitting what he very unwillingly did of any zealous puritan — that Penry "was esteemed by many a tolerable scholar, an edifying preacher, and a good man" — adds, "but being a person full of Welch blood, of a hot and restless head, did upon some discontent, change the course of his life and became a most notorious Anabaptist (of which party he was at his time the coryphæus) and in some sort a Brownist, and the most bitter enemy to the church of England of any that appeared in the long reign of Elizabeth." — *Ath. Oxon.* 1. col. 592. *Brook* quotes *Thomas' MS. History*, as saying: "I am inclined to think that he [Penry] was the first who administered the ordinance by immersion and upon a profession of faith, in and about Oldchon, in the principality" of Wales. — *Lives of Puritans*, II. 67. There is, however, no evidence from Penry's Confession of Faith, or any other source, that he ever espoused the sentiments of the Baptists.

this idea of evangelizing Wales, then enveloped in almost pagan ignorance and superstition, that he felt constrained to issue, in 1587, a modest, but most earnest appeal to "Her Gracious Majesty and the High Court of Parliament, in the behalf of the country of Wales, that some order may be taken for the preaching of the Gospel among those People." In this he says: "Thousands of our people know Jesus Christ to be neither God nor man — priest nor prophet — almost never heard of him." Preaching, he tells them, in many parts was quite unknown; and only superstition of the grossest kind kept the mass of the people from absolute atheism.*

If he had, he never could have written what he did, in his "Appellation unto the High Court of Parliament, from the vile and injurious dealing of the Archbishop of Canterbury and other his colleagues." They give out that I am an Anabaptist, an underminer of the chair of the magistrate, a pestilent and dangerous subject many ways. These, and all such accusations laid against me and God's truth, shall be proved to be palpable slanders." — *Hanbury*, i. 72, note.

In "A Treatise" on Reformation, etc., Penry expresses his opinion of Archbishop Whitgift as follows: "'John Cant.' as he writeth himself, both in respect of his antichristian prelacy over God's church, and for the notable hatred which he hath ever bewrayed the Lord and his truth, I think one of the dishonorablest creatures under heaven and accordingly do account of him. Desiring the Lord, if it be his will, to convert both him and all other the detected enemies of Sion, that their souls may be saved; or if he hath appointed them to damnation, and meaneth not otherwise to be glorified by them, speedily to disburden the earth of such reprobate cast-aways." — *Hanbury*, i. 74.

* *Waddington*, 10-15.

This petition was not only printed as a treatise,* but the substance of it was presented in a petition to parliament by one of Penry's countrymen, who endorsed its statements.† These zealous efforts to promote the evangelization of Wales, instead of receiving a grateful response from the "fathers and brethren of the church of England," awakened the bitterest hostility. Whitgift, at that time, the ruling power in the church, immediately ordered Penry's arrest and incarceration; and after about a month's imprisonment, arraigned him on the charge of having asserted "that mere readers — meaning such as could not, or would not preach — were not ministers; reading homilies, or any other books, was not preaching the word of God; and so the ordinary means of salvation was wanting." In the course of the examination which followed, the bishop of London asked Penry what he had to say against non-residents. He replied. "They are odious in the sight of God; because, to the utmost of their power, they deprive the people of the ordinary means of salvation, which is the word preached." The bishop then asked, whether preaching was the only means of salvation. Penry replied: "It is the only ordinary means"; quoting, "How shall they hear without a preacher?" and, "It pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believed."

* "At Oxford, by Joseph Barnes, to be sold at the Tiger's Head. — 1587."

† *Waddington*, 15.

After discussing this point for some time, the bishop of Winchester pronounced this doctrine "an execrable heresy;" and the archbishop agreed with him. To this Penry replied: "I thank God that I ever knew that heresy." "I tell thee it is a heresy; and thou shalt recant it as a heresy," rejoined the bishop. "Never," responded Penry, "God willing, so long as I live." * At the close of this examination, Penry was severely reprimanded for his impertinence and heresy, and remanded to prison. But after a while was released, without further punishment.

About this time Penry married Helen Godley — a modest, pious, excellent woman, who proved a true helpmeet — and settled near his father-in-law, at Northampton.† But John Penry was not a man to settle on his lees and enjoy domestic felicity while there was work to be done for the Master and though there is no record of his doings for some months subsequent to his release from prison, yet we may well believe that he was "most probably employed in the ministry," partly it may be in his native land, and in writing for the press.

In the summer of 1588, we find him at or near

* *Brook's Lives*, II. 48. *Strype's Annals*, vol. III. pt. II. pp. 94-96.

This passage between the bishop and Penry was reported, much to the annoyance of the bishop, who attempted to break the force of it, by saying, that he did not tell Penry that his declaration was "an execrable heresy," but said to his associates, that it was "not far from heresy." — *Cooper's Admonition*, p. 59.

† *Waddington*, 19; *Brook*, II. 48.

Mouldsey, in Surry, superintending an issue from the secret printing press which the more zealous reformers had just set up in the house of the widow Crane.

The puritan ministers had not only been silenced as preachers, but the use of the press had also been forbidden them, and it was only by stealth that they could either preach or print. A decree of the Star Chamber, dated June 29th, 1566, provided: 1st, That no person should print or cause to be printed, or bring or procure to be brought into the realm printed, any book against the force and meaning of any ordinance, prohibition, or commandment contained, or to be contained, in any the statutes or laws of the realm, or in any injunctions, letters patent, or ordinances, passed, or set forth, or to be passed or set forth, by the queen's grant, commission, or authority. 2d, That whosoever should offend against the said ordinances, should forfeit all such books and copies; and from thenceforth should never use or exercise, or take benefit by any using or exercising, the feat of printing; and to sustain three months' imprisonment without bail or mainprise. 3d, That no person should sell, or put to sale, bind, stitch, or sew any such books or copies, upon pain to forfeit all such books etc., and for every book, twenty shillings.*

The puritans refused submission to these arbitrary restrictions, and continued for several years

* *Styke's Parker*, i. 442.

to print "secretly" whatever they chose, to the great annoyance of the persecuting bishops, who strove by every means in their power to discover the authors and printers.*

Penry's work, the first issued from this press, then under Robert Walgrave's direction, was entitled, "A View of Some Part of Such Public Wants and Disorders as are in the Service of God within Her Majesty's country of Wales, together with an Humble Petition unto the High Court of Parliament for their Speedy Redress." † This was immediately followed by an "Exhortation unto the Governors and People of Her Majesty's country of Wales, to Labor earnestly to have the Preaching of the Gospel planted among them." To both of these publications Penry affixed his own name, as it was his habit to do with what he wrote. In these works he was very severe on persecuting

* Archbishop Parker wrote to Lord Burleigh, Nov. 22d, 1572: "As for the puritans' books, I signified by letters how they multiplied them by secret printing. We have sought as diligently as we can for the press of these puritans, but we cannot possibly find it." — *Correspondence*, *Letter cccxiii*.

Robert Waldgrave, was suspected, and probably truly, of being the principal printer of these puritan pamphlets and books; and was repeatedly arrested, fined, imprisoned, threatened with the rack, and even beaten; his house rifled, and his property destroyed; but all to no purpose; for he still continued to battle for the great palladium of liberty — the freedom of the press. His last work in England seems to have been on the *Marprelate tracts*. See an interesting account of this persecution of the free press, in *Hopkins' Puritans*, II. chap. vi.

† *Waddington*, 24-34; *Brook*, II. 68; *Wood*, I. 593.

prelates, and negligent, non-resident, and ungodly ministers.

About this same time the celebrated Marprelate tracts began to make their appearance, printed on the same secret press. As might have been expected, these several treatises greatly provoked the wrath of the archbishop and the high commissioners, who immediately ordered diligent search for the impudent writers and printers. But by assuming different disguises the responsible parties were able for a while to elude the searchers. The principal printer, Waldegrave, however, being well known to the pursuivants, could not well be disguised; and so, when the search became close, was furnished with funds and sent to Scotland. A new foreman, Hodgkins, was obtained, and a new place of concealment secured, and the press set at work again.*

“On the 29th of January,” 1588–9, as Penry informs us, “one Richard Walton, having a commission from the archbishop and others, wherein all her majesty’s officers were charged and commanded, in her name, to assist the said Walton to make entry into all houses, shops, etc., to apprehend all those whom he should anyways suspect, and to commit them, at his discretion, unto the next gaol or prison, until further order should be taken with them—came unto the place of mine abode, at Northampton, ransacking my study; and took

* *Waddington*, 35, 36; *Strype Ann.*, vol. III., pt. II. p. 604.

away with them, all such printed books and printed papers as he himself thought good. What they were, as yet I cannot tell. And not contented to keep himself within the moderate limits of a larger commission than, as I think, can be warranted by the law, he offered violence unto divers persons, and threatened not only to break open doors—having no such commission—but also to untile houses, unless he could find me where indeed I was not. At his departure, he charged the mayor of the town, who then attended upon him, to apprehend me as a traitor; giving out, that he had found in my study printed books and also writings which contained treason in them. Whereas the books and writings of greatest disgrace (even in sight of his master) which he could there find were one printed copy of the Demonstration of the Discipline, and an answer unto Master D. Some, in writing; both which he carried away with him.” *

* *Waddington*, 42, 43.

“A Demonstration of the Truth of that Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word for the Government of His Church in all Times and Places, until the end of the World,” is the book for which the learned and devout Rev. John Udal, an intimate friend of Penry, after a mock trial, lost his life.—See *Brook*, II. 1–23. Udal’s examination and trial are preserved in *Cobbett’s State Trials*, vol. I. cols. 1271–1316, and furnish one of the most extraordinary exhibitions of arbitrary proceedings under the form of law, which disgraces the history of English jurisprudence. Great efforts were made to secure Udal’s pardon; which was finally promised, on condition that he would go to Turkey; but before arrangements could be consummated, he died in the Marshalsea prison, “about the end of the year 1592, quite heart-broken with sorrow and grief.”

This scrap of personal history lifts the veil which time has drawn over scenes of trial and distress through which the advocates of religious liberty and church reform were daily struggling during Elizabeth's persecuting reign. It was not the brave, bold men alone who had to encounter the wrath of bishops and the insolence of their menials, but delicate women and helpless children were involved in the common calamity. Houses were broken into and ransacked, even at midnight, and their defenceless inmates insulted, terrified, and abused. All this was part of the price paid for the religious freedom which we now enjoy.

The mention of "Master D. Some" introduces to our notice another element of disturbance to Penry. Dr. Some, Master of Peterhouse, was employed by Whitgift to attack Penry's reformatory scheme. This he did with provoking arrogance; and Penry felt constrained to turn aside a little time, even from his cherished work of evangelizing Wales, to defend himself against Some's charge of sedition. Several pamphlets were published on either side; and the reformer was treated to the usual amount of priestly assumption and arrogance by his titled and protected assailant, while it was only possible for the outlawed Penry to reply at the greatest disadvantage, and at the peril of his liberty and his life.*

Whitgift, not contented with the ample inquisi-

* *Waddington*, 38-40.

torial powers of the high commissioners, procured, about this time, a special royal proclamation against the books and pamphlets which were being issued from the puritans' press. This edict bears date February 13th, 1588-9, and is styled a "Proclamation against Seditious and Schismatical Books and Libells," etc. These are denounced, "as bringing in a monstrous and apparent dangerous innovation of all manner of ecclesiastical government now in use; and to the abridging, or rather to the overthrow of her highness' lawful prerogative, allowed by God's law and established by the laws of the realm. In consequence whereof, her highness minding to provide some good and speedy remedy to withstand such notable, dangerous and ungodly attempts," we are told, "doth will and straitly charge and command, that all persons whatsoever, within her majesty's realms and dominions who have, or hereafter shall have any of the said seditious books, pamphlets, libells, or writings, do presently after, with convenient speed, bring or deliver up the same, to the intent they may be utterly defaced, or otherwise used." *

This proclamation was aimed, not simply at Penry's acknowledged writings, but at other pamphlets, offensive to the hierarchy, which had been secretly printed and scattered over the kingdom, and which were eagerly caught up and read by the people, and found their way even into the

* *Strype's Whitgift*, II. 42; III. 216-18.

court itself. The most obnoxious of these, though the most popular among the masses, were a series of tracts which exposed the foibles, vices and crimes of some of the prelates, and libelled their characters without mercy, generally known as the "Marprelate Tracts." The author of these sharp and effective pasquinades, who styled himself "Martin Marprelate," could not be detected by all the diligence of the archbishop and the interested zeal of the persecuting prelates. John Udal, John Field, Job Throgmorton, Giles Wiggington, John Penry, and several other puritans, were, at different times, charged with the authorship. For some reason—it is difficult to say what—there was finally manifested a very persistent determination to fix the authorship of these tracts, or the chief authorship, on John Penry. Thus Nash, the author of several *anti*-Martin Marprelate tracts charges Penry with it; and Sir George Paule, in his life of Whitgift, repeats the charge: "The author and penners of some of these libels were John Penry and John Udal." Strype habitually speaks of Penry as "the author of Martin Marprelate"—as "this Penry, surnamed Marprelate"—"John Penry, the chief author of the Marprelate tracts," etc.; and so does Heylyn, the bitter hater of the puritans; and Collier, the high church historian; and even Hume, and Hallam follow suit.* Penry suffered at the time, personally, and

* *Strype's Annals*, vol. III. pt. II., pp. 71, 94, 95, 99, and 102.

Heylyn (Hist. Presb., lib. ix. § 81) calls Penry "one of the chief

in his character has suffered ever since, from these charges. Yet, there does not exist, and there never did, one particle of evidence that he wrote a line of one of the Marprelate tracts, had anything to do with these publications, or even knew the author, or approved of these saucy libels.* John Penry

penners of those scurrilous libels which have passed under the name of Martin Mar-Prelate." See *R. Hooper's Works*, i. 64; 238, notes.

In the introduction to Petheram's reprint of the Marprelate tracts, we are told: "The authors of Martin Mar-Prelate were never discovered; it is, however, probable that John Penry, 'the hot-headed Welchman,' as his enemies called him, was the author. He confessedly wrote several works on behalf of the puritan cause, and in 1598 suffered death for them." — *An Epistle*, etc. Intr. p. iv.

One is tempted to ask: how does it follow, that because Penry "confessedly wrote several works on behalf of the puritan cause," he, therefore, wrote the Marprelate tracts? It might be just as well argued, that any other prominent puritan writer was the author of these tracts. It will be seen, in the sequel, that Penry did *not* suffer death for any published works — his own or another's — and that no attempt was made in court to convict him of writing or publishing any of the Marprelate tracts.

Hallam says: "The authors of Martin Marprelate were never fully discovered; but Penry seems not to deny his concern in it." — *Constitutional Hist.*, vol. i. p. 206, note. Lond. 1846. Erase from the above sentence the words *fully* and *not*, and it will be the exact truth. Mr. Hallam's representation on a preceding page (205) also needs correction. He says, Penry "was tried some time after for another pamphlet," etc. A pamphlet is a small unbound book, stitched. Penry was tried and condemned for a private manuscript which was found in his study — never published, and never seen by any living persons but the writer, before its seizure by the pursuivants.

* *Waddington* says, that "the secret council [of Puritan Reformers] at Fawsley were called upon to decide with respect to the

was indeed a zealous nonconformist, strongly opposed to English prelacy; first, because it interfered with his favorite scheme of evangelizing Wales; and secondly, because it was utterly at variance with the spirit and letter of the New Testament, the Christian's guide to church order and discipline. He had published several treatises, petitions, etc., to which he affixed his own name, some of which were printed on the self-same press from which Martin's pungent, exasperating epistles were issued. As somebody of ability, and of profound dislike of the prelatic system must have written the Marprelate tracts, and nobody could tell who, somebody guessed that it must have been John Penry! This is all, positively all, that the prelates and pursuivants of Penry's day, and the long line of historical writers since, ever had on which to build their charges against Penry. Opposed to this guess-work and prejudicial assertion, we have the stubborn fact, that the style of Martin is totally unlike Penry's. Martin's is sharp, witty, rollicking; while Penry's is grave, earnest, persuasive. Martin, though he often reasons

establishment and management of a press, and that some were of opinion that the most effective publications, under existing circumstances, would be those which, with keenness and severity, should expose the pride, luxury and oppression of their adversaries. Penry was not of this number. 'He would not,' he said, 'feed the humors of the busybodies, who, increasing themselves still unto more ungodliness, think nothing so well spoken or written as that which is satirical, and bitingly done against lord bishops.' " — *Life of Penry*, 22-23.

soberly and earnestly enough, yet allows himself in personal abuse; lampooning the bishops without stint, and exposing with a zest their personal defects, their inconsistencies, their vices and crimes. But this is quite unlike Penry's writings. He opposes and denounces prelacy, but not the prelates personally. I recall but a single exception: Whitgift he pronounces "one of the dishonorablest creatures under heaven."* He fought the prelates, simply because they were the upholders and representatives of an establishment which smothered free speech, muzzled the press, and would neither preach the gospel to the masses themselves, nor allow anybody to do it, unless dressed in their uniform and sworn to their shibboleth.

Add to all this, the fact that Penry's intimate friends, and those best acquainted with his sentiments and his literary labors, declared unhesitatingly their conviction that he had nothing to do with the Marprelate tracts; and the argument is still further strengthened. Thus the Rev. Giles Wigginton, a friend of Penry, when on examination before the high commissioners, being asked: "Is Mr. Penry, then, the author of 'Demonstration' or of 'Martin Mar-Prelate'?" Replied: "I think he is not. I think you are greatly deceived in charging him with it."† Job Throgmor-

* See *ante*, p. 182, note.

† *Hopkins*, III. 261. Mr. Hopkins has given a full and clear account of this Marprelate controversy and of the "wandering press" on which the Marprelate tracts and Penry's books were printed. — *Hist. Puritans*, vol. III. chaps. 6 and 7.

ton, another of Penry's friends, in his "Defence against the Slanders of Matthew Sutcliff," said: "I will, for my clearing therein, (whensoever it shall be thought good by the State) willingly take this oath, as I have before offered, viz.: 'That I am not Martin; that I know not Martin; and concerning that I stand indicted of, I am as clear as the child unborn.'" Udal, the associate and intimate friend of Penry, at his trial for felony, July 24th, 1590, in answer to the declaration of Lord-Justice Anderson — that he was called to answer concerning certain books which were thought to be of his making, replied: "If it be of any of Martin's books (according as my lord chamberlain's letters, that fetched me, import) I have already answered, and am ready to do so again. * * * At Lambeth, a year and a half ago, I cleared myself not to be the author, nor to know who he was."

When asked if he wrote the "Demonstration," or "A Dialogue," he declined answering; and when urged for a reason, replied: "I hold the matter proposed in them all to be one; but I would not be thought to handle it in that manner which the former books do; and because I think otherwise of the latter, I care not though they should be fathered upon me."

"*Lord Buckhurst.* But I pray you tell me, know you not Penry?"

Udal. Yes, my lord, that I do.

Buck. And do you not know him to be Martin?"

Udal. No, surely, neither do I think him to be Martin.

Buck. What is your reason?

Udal. This, my lord; when first it came out, he (understanding that some gave out that he was thought to be the author) wrote a letter to a friend in London, wherein he did deny it in such terms as declared him to be ignorant and clear of it."

On the 25th of July, when Mr. Udal was brought up for sentence, having been found guilty of felony for writing the "Demonstration," he was told by Justice Puckering, that his book "had been passed over, if there had not come forth presently after it such a number of slanderous libels, as 'Martin Mar-Prelate,' 'Martin's Epitome,' 'Martin Jun.,' or 'Theses Martipianæ,' 'Martin Sen.,' and other such like; of which [his] book was judged to be the ringleader." To which Mr. Udal replied: "My lord, those that are learned, and do maintain this cause, do judge this book to be written very indifferently [in a very different spirit] howsoever it be hardly construed. But for Martin, and the rest of those books that you have named, they were never approved by the godly learned; and I am fully persuaded that those books were not done by any minister; and I think there is never a minister in this land, who doth know who Martin is. And I, for my part, have been inquisitive, but could never learn who he is." *

* *State Trials*, Cobbet's ed., vol. i., col. 1294. 8vo. Lond. 1809.

Now, Udal, and these other conscientious, good men, familiar friends of Penry, would almost certainly have known if he wrote any of the Marprelate tracts; and though they would not have betrayed him, yet they would not have perjured themselves, by denying that they knew who wrote them, nor would they have spoken as they did had they even suspected Penry to be the author. Even Maskell, a cordial hater of the puritans, is compelled to admit, that though Penry's house and study were searched for some proof against him, yet no evidence was found; and also that "Penry himself, at the time, (which I cannot give much weight to,) and always after, even when about to die (when one is rather inclined to believe that he would speak the truth) denied that he had been concerned in the writing of these tracts." *

Whatever Mr. Maskell might think of Penry, he was, without a question, an entirely honest, truthful man. If he had written any of the Marprelate tracts, he would probably have affixed his name to what he wrote, as it was his habit to do; and certainly would not have denied the authorship when charged with it; for that would have been utterly inconsistent with his entire character.

As to these tracts, there can be no question but that they were bitterly libellous on some of the persecuting prelates of the day; and the more so,

* *Maskell, Hist. of the Marprelate Controversy*, p. 107, Pickering's ed. Lond. 1845.

because the greater the truth the greater the libel. But, they were not *indecent* libels, as were some of the anti-Marprelate tracts. And if Martin deserved to be hanged, Curry-Knave, one of his antagonists, deserved to be hanged and quartered. Yet some of the church historians who condemn Martin in unmeasured terms, rather glory in Curry-Knave, or Tom Nash, as a good fellow, who gave Martin a Rowland for his Oliver. Thus Mr. Collier (*Ecc. Hist.* vii. 78) says: "It was thought the best way to answer a fool according to his folly, and combat these pamphleteers at their own weapon. They were attacked in this manner by one Tom Nash. This Nash had a genius for satire, a lively turn, and spirit for the encounter; by these advantages, together with that of the cause, he broke the enemy at two or three charges, and drove them out of the field"!

John Lilly was another of the prelates' pamphleteers. Any candid man who will read Martin's *Epistle*, *Epitome*, and *Hay any Work for Cooper*; and compare them with *Pappe with a Hatchet*, and *An Almonde for a Parrat*, the attempted answers to Martin, will be slow to endorse Mr. Collier's opinion, that the author of the first three could ever have been driven out of the field by such tracts as the last two are.* Neither Nash

* I refer to these five books, because these only, with Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, of all the Martin Marprelate tracts, have come under my personal examination; and I would not add to the number of those who have passed judgment on these famous con-

nor Lilly were any match for Martin, whoever he may have been, either in style or matter. It was the united and exasperated power of Church and State, everywhere present to prevent the issue of any replies to the bishops' lampooners, and to detect and punish to the extremity of the law all printers and agents concerned in spreading such replies, which prevented Martin from keeping the field against Lilly and Nash, Bridges, Cooper, Bancroft, Whitgift, and the whole body of "the terrible priests of the Convocation House." The anti-Martin tracts are sharp and bitter enough, and

controversial works without having ever read them. These six were reprinted by John Petheram, London, in 1848. Pappe with an Hatchet, is ascribed to John Lilly, by some bibliographers. Maskell enumerates eighteen tracts and books as belonging to the Marprelate series. But Penry's Appellation, which he includes in the series, ought certainly to be omitted; and so it seems to me ought two or three other works which he mentions; e. g. A Dialogue; M. Some Laid Open, etc.; and A Treatise; leaving fourteen tracts and treatises in the series. Nash ascribes all the Marprelate works to Penry; but Maskell thinks that "it is undeniable that they were written by several persons."—p. 213. The truth of this assertion, however, seems to me far from "undeniable." Martin declares positively, that no one was privy to his writing—that he was alone.—*Epitome*, p. 42. And the three tracts—the *Epistle*, *Epitome*, and *Hay any Worke*—bear the strongest internal evidence that they were written by the same hand; and that a bold, strong one too.

Archbishop Whitgift, in commending Bancroft to ecclesiastical favor says: "By his advice that course was taken, which did principally stop Martin and his fellows' mouths; viz. to have them answered after their own vain writings."—*Strype's Whitgift*, II. 387; *Walton's Life of Hooker*, vol. I. p. 65, note 13. Oxford, 1836.

they are not wanting in wit, particularly the "Almonde for a Parrat;" yet, they are generally little else than downright blackguardism, and often very vulgar blackguardism too, and scarcely touch the merits of the controversy between Martin and the Bishops.

There is one other fact relating to these tracts — both Martin's and the anti-Martin's — which deserves special notice. It is this: the sober puritans never adopted or acknowledged Martin's tracts — never approved of them, never sympathized with the spirit of them. Martin himself repeatedly refers to this: "There be many that greatly dislike of my doings," he says. "The puritans are angrie with me, I mean the puritane preachers. And why? Because I am too open. Because I jest."* "I am alone. No man under heaven is privy, or bath bin privie unto my writings against you [the bishops]. I used the advice of non therein."†

And that the disclaimers of the puritan divines and the declarations of Martin were in accordance with truth is all but demonstrated by the fact, that with all the arrests of these men, and the house-searchings, rifling of private papers, inquisitorial examinations, and general espionage practised by the church party at the time and subsequently, no puritan was ever detected; no complicity could ever be proved; no charge could ever be sustained

* *Epitome*, p. 2.

† *Hay any Worke for Cooper*, p. 42.

against any one of them! The utmost that could be proved against any one of them, was, that some of their acknowledged publications were printed on the same press which printed the Marprelate tracts; and that Udal and Penry visited the house where the press was at work. But these men had not the control of the press; the printer worked for whom he pleased, and printed what he pleased: so at least, we must infer from what is known of the history of this celebrated perambulating press.

But while the principal puritans are thus proved to have had nothing to do with the Marprelate works, the answers to Martin, which are much more scurrilous than his writings, and often even very unclean, are the bishops' own books. They were written by their connivance, advice, and even direction and assistance. Whitgift not only acknowledges this, but makes it a plea on behalf of Bancroft, when a candidate for the bishoprick of London. They first tried their combined strength in the "Admonition," signed "T. C." — Thomas Cooper, bishop of Winchester. This was "nuts" to Martin; and he so turned the tables against them, in his famous "Hay any Worke for Coooper" — "Tom Tubtrimmer" as he calls the bishop — that they no doubt heartily wished that they had let the "libeller" alone. But writhing under his scorpion-lash, they could not be still; and next resorted to some of the low wits about London, to help them to "answer a fool according to his folly"; furnishing these hired libellers with neces-

sary materials for their work. Thus, "when Dr. Bancroft was made Bishop of London, the Archbishop [Whitgift] in consequence of some ill reports spread abroad about him, wrote a commendatory letter to the court in his behalf; and among other things, says, 'That he [Bancroft] was by his diligent search, the first detector of Martin Marprelate's press and books: where, and by whom they were printed. He was a special man, that gave instructions to her majesty's learned council, when Martin's agents were brought into the Star Chamber. By his advice that course was taken, which did principally stop Martin's and his fellows' mouths: viz., to have them answered after their own vain writings.' " *

There is, too, internal evidence in the anti-Martin tracts, of clerical help. The Address "To the Indifferent Reader," in Pappe with a Hatchet, reads very much as if written by a bishop. And in *An Almonde for a Parrat*, there are many spots where the bishops' fingers plainly appear. This evidence of coöperation on the part of the bishops with Nash and Lilly, in answering Martin, did not escape Mr. Maskell's notice; for he says: "It is not either impossible or improbable but that Bancroft himself had something more to do with the composing them [the answers to Martin] than merely recommending. His avowed book, the '*Dangerous Positions and Proceedings, 1593*,' is little less

* *Strype's Whitgift*, II. ch. 28, p. 887.

severe, somewhat in the same style, and shows an intimate acquaintance with the most foul and disgraceful pamphlets of the puritans." * This supposition is strengthened by what Strype gives, as the language of the archbishop, in this same commendatory letter, viz., that Bancroft "had been a special man of his calling that the lord Archbishop of Canterbury had used for the space of nine or ten years, in all the stirs which had been made by the factions against the good estate of the church, which had procured him great dislike among those who were that way inclined." † These things should be kept in mind when passing judgment on the celebrated Marprelate controversy.

As it respects the real authorship of the Martin Marprelate tracts, the world is as wise now it as was two hundred and seventy-five years ago. Marsden, a very sensible and candid modern writer, speaking of the tracts, says: "Who or what the writers were, rests, like the authorship of Junius, in profoundest mystery. It has, however, been conjectured that the Marprelate pamphlets were written by the Jesuits. In support of this opinion, certain opinions have been alleged, and the presumptive evidence deserves consideration." ‡ Though not prepared to believe in the Jesuitical authorship of these famous anti-prelate tracts, yet

* *Marprelate Controversy*, p. 168.

† *Life of Whitgift*, II. ch. 23, p. 388.

‡ *The History of the Early Puritans*, by J. B. Marsden, M. A., 2d. ed. Lond. 1853.

of this, any one who will carefully examine the subject may be well assured, namely: that John Penry was not the writer of any of them, and that the leading puritans of his day did not approve of them.

Before leaving this topic, it is but fair to quote Martin's defence and justification of himself. In his reply to Cooper's Admonition, he says: "I saw the cause of Christ's government, and of the bishops' anti-christian, to be hidden. The most part of men could not be gotten to read anything in the defence of the one, and against the other. I bethought me, therefore, of a way whereby men might be drawn to do both. Perceiving the humors of men in these times (especially of those that are in any *place*) to be given to mirth, I took that course; I might lawfully do it, for jesting is lawful by circumstances, even in the greatest matters. The circumstances of time, place and persons, urged me thereunto. I never profaned the Word in any jest. Other mirth I used as a covert, wherein I could bring the truth into light, the Lord being the author of mirth and gravity. My purpose was, and is, to do good. I have done no harm, howsoever some may judge Martin to mar all. They are very weak ones that so think. In that which I have written, I know, undoubtedly, that I have done the Lord and the State of this kingdom great service, because I have in some sort discovered the greatest enemies thereof." *

* *Hay any Worke for Cooper*, 14.

CHAPTER VI

PENRY'S ARREST AND EXAMINATIONS.—LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY AND CHRISTIAN FRIENDS.—INDICTMENT FOR PRIVATE NOTES NEVER PUBLISHED.—CONDEMNATION AS A FELON.—HASTY EXECUTION.

THOUGH John Penry was as guiltless of writing any of the Marprelate tracts as any one of my readers, yet the fact that he was suspected of being "one of the chief authors" was enough to make England a most uncomfortable and unsafe residence for his family and himself; and therefore, probably in the spring of 1588-9, he removed to Scotland. There for a while he found a welcome, and congenial employment.* But he was not suffered to remain long in peace. The printers of the Marprelate tracts were discovered in the summer of 1589; the press was seized, and numerous arrests made of persons concerned in the illicit

* *Waddington*, 49, 54, 59, 68. *Collier* (vii. 179) represents him to have twice visited Scotland; and "from hence," he says, "he played his libels into England upon Church and State." But *Collier's* whole account of Penry shows that the high church historian knew and cared very little about the reformer, except to blacken his character; declaring among other things, that he "had a principal share in those scurrilous pamphlets which went under the title of *Martin Mar-Prelate*."

work.* The papers seized, made Penry's connection with this offensive press obvious — though no evidence was ever discovered that he had anything to do with the composition or publication of the Marprelate tracts — and the government set their hearts on his arrest. An autograph letter from the queen was sent to King James; a warrant was issued from the privy council, for the arrest of Penry, as an enemy of the State; and the king, in conformity with his "loving sister and cousin's" request, issued a decree for the banishment of Penry from Scotland. But the Scotch ministry,

* This press has been called "a Pilgrim, or vagabond press." It was first set up at Mouldsey in Surrey, near Kingston on the Thames. From thence it was conveyed to [Sir Richard Knightley's house,] Fawsley, in Northamptonshire; from thence to Norton; from thence to the house of John Hales, in Coventry; from Coventry to Wolstan, in Warwickshire; and from thence to Newton Lane, near Manchester, in Lancashire, where it was discovered. — *Neal*, i. 487; *Strype's Ann.*, vol. III. pt. II. pp. 602-6; App., No. 68; *Life of Whitgift*, i. 550; *Ames' Typographical Antiquities*, vol. III. p. 1464. Sir Geo. Paule tells us, in his *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, that "in the year 1588, came forth those hateful libels of Martin Marprelate; and much about the same time, 'The Epitome,' 'The Demonstration of Discipline,' 'The Supplication,' 'Diotrephes,' 'The Minerals,' 'Have you any worke for a Cooper, Martin Junior, alias Theses Martinianæ,' 'Martin Senior' 'More work for the Cooper;,' all which were printed with a kind of wandering press, which was first set up at Mouldsey, near Kingston upon Thames, and from thence conveyed to Fausly, in Northamptonshire, and from thence to Norton, afterwards to Coventry, from thence to Wolstan in Warwickshire, from which place the letters were sent to another press, in or near Manchester, where (by means of Henry that good earl of Derby) the press was discovered in printing of 'More work for a Cooper.'" — pp. 51, 52.

not sympathizing with the king or his English cousin, protected Penry yet a while in Scotland.* But in September, 1592, he voluntarily left the kingdom and returned to England, with the intention, probably, of presenting a petition, in person, to the queen, in behalf of his favorite plan of evangelizing Wales. Immediately on his arrival in London, he joined himself to the little band of despised and persecuted Separatists, of whom Barrowe and Greenwood were the acknowledged leaders. Though he fully identified himself with the little Congregational church in London, and sometimes preached to them, and even invited them to hold meetings at his lodgings, yet he declined taking office among them; his heart being still set on preaching the gospel to his poor countrymen in Wales.† He remained in and about London, actively employed in labors of love among the poor, stricken congregation, and in the use of his pen for their edification, for some six months after his return from Scotland. But the bishops were on his track; and by means of information gleaned from the brethren who had been arrested, finally discovered Penry, at Ratcliffe, parish of Stepney, in the suburbs of London, and arrested him, on

* *Waddington*, 57-59, 68. In 1590 he published "*A Treatise*, where it is manifestly proved that Reformation and those that are sincerely for the same are unjustly charged with being enemies unto her Majesty and the State," etc. In 1591, he published at Edinburgh a translation of Beza's *Theses Theologicæ*.

† *Waddington*, 82, 84, 92-94, 120.

"the 22d of the third month, March 1592-3." * On the 24th, he was carried before Justice Young, notorious for his cruelty towards the Separatists, and by him committed to the Compter prison, in the Poultry. On the 26th of the same month he was taken again before Justice Young, where he met a "Mr. D. Vaughn and his brother, preachers," both sent, as Mr. Young said, by the lord keeper Puckering, to confer with him. Penry, however, wisely declined any private conference; knowing full well that his words were liable to be wrested and made a ground of accusation against him. He was ready for a public conference on equal terms; but he would not submit to a private, inquisitorial one, such as they proposed to hold with him. Two days after, on the 28th of March, a second attempt was made by "Dr. Balguay, of the Temple," to draw him into a private conference. This Penry repelled; but gave "four special heads, and the conditions" on which he would cheerfully hold a public conference; a copy of which was taken by Dr. Balguay. On the 2d of April, a third attempt was made by the court clergy, by authority, to force Penry into a private discussion; he being visited in prison by Mr. D. Crake, Mr. Greenham, and Mr. Temple. But

* *Waddington*, 120-22; *Strype's Whitgift*, II. 175-6. *Strype* says, "he was committed a close prisoner in *May*," 1593. But *Penry* says, "the third month, *March*;" he and *Barrowe* counting the months from *January*, and not, as was usual at that time, from *March*.

Penry "refused all private intermeddling in so public an action." He showed them the propositions and conditions already given to Justice Young and Dr. Balguay, on which he would hold a discussion with them, or any person whom the government might appoint. His propositions were: 1. That the questions on both sides should be set down in writing, with the reasons briefly annexed; and that the answers should also be in writing, with like brevity. 2. That he and his friends should have the privilege of conferring together, and the use of books. 3. That the bishops' disputants should none of them act as judges; but that the council themselves should hear the cause; or if they declined, that they should appoint some civilians to act as umpires, and see that both parties kept within their appointed bounds.* These terms the inquisitors were not authorized to accept; but Mr. Temple felt authorized to carry off the original draft of the "heads and conditions," "very injuriously," as Penry felt, whether he would or not, and to retain the original paper, sending back a copy only. On the Wednesday following Penry was called into the Sessions-house, where, he says, "was Mr. George Barnes, as I take it; Mr. Young, Mr. Dale, the Dean of Westminster, and another of the clergy. They offered me an oath, which I refused, because it was against conscience and law, protesting, notwithstanding, that I held it lawful

* *Brook*, II. 64, from Baker's MS. Coll. xv. 380.

to take an oath before a magistrate." They then proceeded to examine him on sundry points, with the evident design of entrapping him. Some of their questions he answered, and others he declined.* The whole tenor of this inquisitorial interview satisfied Penry, that his death was determined on, and that the repeated attempts to draw him into private, "friendly" discussions, and these oft-repeated examinations, were simply designed to furnish materials for an indictment. So impressed was he with this conviction, that after this last interview with his prosecutors, he immediately began to prepare himself and family for his speedy martyrdom.† He wrote to his wife a letter full of

* *Yelverton, MS.*, in Waddington, 122-24.

† At this period of English history the trial of a man for felony was little better than a mockery of justice, as we have seen in the cases already noticed. For the government to arrest and indict a man was nearly equivalent to his condemnation. Hallam, in speaking of this feature of English jurisprudence says: "I have found it impossible not to anticipate, in more places than one, some of those glaring transgressions of natural as well as positive law, that rendered our courts of justice in cases of treason little better than the caverns of murderers. Whoever was arraigned at their bar was almost certain to meet a virulent prosecutor, a judge hardly distinguishable from the prosecutor except by his ermine, and a passive and pusillanimous jury. * * * The integrity of judges is put to the proof as much by prosecutions for seditious writings as by charges of treason. I have before mentioned the conviction of Udal and Penry, for a felony created by the 23 of Elizabeth; the former of which, especially, must strike every reader of the trial as one of the gross judicial iniquities of this reign." — *Const. History of Eng.*, vol. i. pp. 231-2. Of the two cases, Penry's seems to me to have been, if possible, the grosser act of injustice.

affection, and abounding in good counsel and religious instructions and comfort; and, what is even more wonderful, considering the circumstances under which it was written—in minute directions and advice to guide her and his four little children after his decease.* It was addressed, “To my beloved wife, Hellenor Penry, partaker with me in this life, of the sufferings of the Gospel of the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, and resting with me in undoubted hope of that glory which shall be revealed.” As a reason for addressing her as he did, he tells her: “I see my blood laid for, my beloved, and so my days and testimony drawing to an end (for aught I know); and therefore, I think it my duty to leave behind me this testimony of my love to so dear a sister and so loving a wife, in the Lord, as you have been to me.” He then beseeches her to stand fast in the truth which she had professed under circumstances of much discouragement and danger; to continue a member of “the holy society” of which they were now both members; to consecrate herself wholly unto the Lord her God; to be much in prayer and the reading of God’s word; to pray with her family morning and evening, and to instruct her maid and children in the good ways of God. He recommends particular portions of Scripture, as specially adapted to her present circumstances. He even goes so far as to tell her, that

* See *Waddington’s Life of Penry*, 127 and onward.

if she should be married again, to "choose that first he with whom you marry, be of the same holy faith and profession with you." He then tells her where his manuscripts might be found, and what disposition to make of them; and closes with salutations to the whole church, to his mother and hers, and to their brothers and sisters and other friends, some of whom he particularly names, and subscribes himself — "in great haste, with many tears, and yet in great spiritual comfort of my soul, your husband for a season, and your beloved brother forever — John Penry, an unworthy witness of Christ's testament against the abominations of the Roman Antichrist and his followers, sure of the victory by the blood of the Lamb."

To his "dear and tenderly beloved daughters" he also wrote a long and affectionate letter, to be read by them when they came "to years of discretion and understanding" — they were all under four years of age. In this he exhorts them, first of all, to know the God of their father, and serve Him, even in all those duties which He requireth in His blessed written Word. He tells them to "have nothing to do with the ordinances and inventions of Antichrist's kingdom, as are retained [in the church of England] — such as lord archbishops, archdeacons, chancellors, canons, prebends, spiritual courts, and the mingling of the clean and unclean; and to regard not the world nor anything that is therein." For the direction of their private lives, he refers them to their mother, "who" he

says, "bath been a most faithful sister and comfortable yokefellow to me in all my trials and sufferings, and for your comfort and mine hath taken bitter journies by sea and land." He commands them to repay her, by their dutifulness and obedience, and to "be ruled in all things by her directions." "Whatsoever becometh of you in outward regard," he says, "keep yourselves in this poor church where I leave you, or in some other holy society of the saints. I have left you four Bibles, each of you one; being the sole and only patrimony or dowry I have for you. I beseech you and charge you, not only to keep them, but to read in them day and night; and before you read, and also in and after reading, be earnest in prayer and meditation, that you may understand and perform the good way of your God. Frequent the holy exercises and meetings of the saints in any case. Frame yourselves to be humble, lowly, meek and patient toward all men. Diminish from your diet and apparel, that you may bestow the same upon the church and the members of Christ." He commands them to show kindness also to their kindred, both of their father's and mother's side; to remember the Welsh people, to pray for them, and to be ready to show themselves helpful to "the least child of that poor country." He exhorts them to "pray much and often for the prosperous reign and the preservation, body and soul," of Queen Elizabeth. "Finally," he says, "my daughters, grow in all graces of knowledge and godliness in

Christ Jesus. Believe and hope firmly in that salvation which is to be had by Him. Suffer affliction with Him in this poor church. Continue in holy fear unto the end; then shall you have a blessed meeting in the great day of His appearing.”*

On the same day that this letter was written, (April 10, 1593) Penry was brought up for examination, before “the Right Worshipful Mr. Fanshaw and Justice Young.” †

Being asked by *Fanshaw* if he could show any writers, either old or new, that had been of his judgment, *Penry* replied: “I hold nothing but what I will be bound to prove out of the written word of God;” and “in regard to the special points controverted,” he declared that he agreed with the early reformers and martyrs of the English church, and with the reformed churches in other countries.

“*Fan.* But do the martyrs teach you there is no church of Christ in England?”

Pen. I am far from denying any church of Christ to be in this land.

* *Waddington*, 136-45.

† Fortunately the important and interesting details of this examination, have been preserved by Penry's own hand. This paper exhibits very clearly the composure, ability, and admirable spirit of the martyr, and presents his opinions fully and clearly. It can be found in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. II. pp. 88-41. The substance of it is also given by Mr. Waddington in his *Life of Penry*, pp. 148-166.

Fan. What mislike you in our church? and why will you not be a partaker with us?

Pen. I mislike, 1st, The false ecclesiastical offices. 2d, The manner of calling into her offices. 3d, A great part of the works wherein these false officers are employed. 4th, The maintenance, or livings, whereby they are maintained in their offices. All which I will be bound to prove (by the Lord's help) to be derived not from Jesus Christ, but from the kingdom of Antichrist, his great enemy."

Being asked, what offices he meant, he specified those of lord archbishops and bishops, archdeacons, commissaries, chancellors, deans, canons, prebendaries, priests, deacons, etc., adding — all which properly belong to no other body, either ecclesiastical or civil, but only unto the Romish church."

Being asked if he would have no other offices in the church now, than were in the apostles' days — he replied: "If the order left by Moses in the church was not to be altered except by special commandment from the Lord (1 Chron. 28 : 19), then may not any man or angel, but upon the same warrant, add anything unto that holy form which the Son of God left for the ordering of his own house."

In reply to several questions, Penry stated, that he held no office in the poor congregation of which he was a member, which was compelled to assemble in the woods and other secret places, after the example of Christ and his church and servants in

all ages; that he might have been made a deacon or priest in the church of England had he been willing, but that he ever disliked those popish orders; that he should have been justified in officiating in the congregation, by virtue of his membership and the request of his brethren, who judged him to be qualified in some measure for the work; and that these were a sufficient warrant for any one to undertake the work of teaching.

Being asked if a man might preach before he had an office in the church; he replied, that the word of God bound every man to preach, and the church to make trial of his gifts before he was called to office; and that the Word calleth these men by the name of "prophets." He himself had declined office in the congregation, because it had always been his purpose to employ his small talent in his own poor country of Wales, where the people were perishing for want of knowledge; and that it had been his purpose to offer himself to her majesty or some of their honors, for this work. He protested against the charge of disloyalty to her majesty or of disobedience to her laws. He only claimed for himself and his brethren the rights and privileges of the Great Charter of England, which her majesty had guaranteed to the church of God forever; and insisted that her majesty was as much bound by that charter as her subjects were to her laws. He solemnly protested that he and his brethren were privy to no intent of any sedition or commotion against her majesty and the

State; and for one, if he were, he would disclose the same, and withstand it to the utmost of his ability. He declared, that his expectation that the offices and livings in the church of England derived from Antichrist were to be overthrown, not by insurrectionary violence, as had been charged against him, but solely by the appearing of Jesus Christ, in the shining brightness of his gospel, whereby he would put it into the hearts of princes and States to abolish these offices, callings and works from among men. In reply to the charge that his separation from the church of England encouraged the papists; he declared, that the increase of popery in England was the just judgment of God, because so many remnants of popery were left in the land, which encouraged the pope to be continually sending Jesuits and seminaries to pervert her majesty's subjects, and reëstablish Romanism among them. The papists knew, that of all men under heaven, the Separatists were their greatest enemies.

But, said *Fanshaw*: "Why refuse you conference, that you may be reformed in those things wherein you err?"

Penry. "I refuse none. I am most willing readily to yield unto any, as Mr. Young hath it to testify under my hand; only my desire and request is, that I may have some equal conditions granted unto me and my poor brethren in it, the which, yet if I cannot obtain, I am ready to yield unto any conference though never so unequal."

At the close of this examination, Penry presented a written statement of his doctrinal belief and of his allegiance to her majesty. He was then remanded to prison. His doctrinal statement shows him to have been thoroughly Calvinistic in his faith, and evangelical and charitable in spirit. His definition and description of a Christian church could not easily be improved: —

“This church I believe to be a company of those whom the Word calleth ‘saints;’ which do not only profess in word that they know God, but also are subject unto his laws and ordinances indeed. With this church, I do believe, that the Lord God, of his mere favor, hath entered into covenant, that he will be their God, and they shall be his people. The seals of this his covenant are only two, — Baptism and the Lord’s Supper. The church here upon earth, I believe not to be perfect — although in regard of the order which the Lord hath appointed for the same it be most absolute — but to have many blemishes and wants in it: yet I assuredly believe, that all the true members thereof shall, at the day of judgment, receive their perfect consummation by Jesus Christ, and be crowned in him with eternal glory, of his mere grace, and not for any merit of theirs.” *

From his letters to his wife and children, written before his examination, we get a glimpse of one of the ways in which Penry beguiled the weary

* *Hunbury*, i. 81.

hours of imprisonment; and, in a letter which he wrote in snatches of time, when least likely to be seen by the keepers, we have further proof of his anxiety to be useful, and of his deep and affectionate interest in the poor, persecuted Congregationalists with whom he had so fully identified himself, and in behalf of whose principles he was about to give up his very life. This letter bears date, April 24th, 1593, and is addressed to his beloved brethren M. F. Johnson and some five-and-twenty others, whose initials alone are given, "with the rest of you, both men and women (as if particularly I name you all) which stand members of this poor afflicted congregation, whether at liberty or in bonds."

In this, he reiterates his most solemn testimony in favor of the truths which he had witnessed to before his inquisitorial examiners, and which he and his brethren held in common; and declares his readiness "not only to be bound and banished, but even to die in this cause by His strength." He then refers at some length to the "banishment with loss of goods" which probably betided them all; and entreats them to rejoice that they "are made ready for Christ's cause to suffer and bear all these things;" warns them against consulting their own particular interests, and urges on them to regard the general good, and to keep together whithersoever it should please God to send them. He exhorts those who had the means of support, not to be selfish, but to aid those who were poor,

in the land of strangers; and to "consult with the whole church, yea, with the brethren of other places, how the church may be kept together and built, whithersoever they go." And he beseeches them to take his "poor and desolate widow" and his "fatherless and friendless orphans with them into exile, whithersoever they went." *

Penry seems first to have been indicted for treason, contained in the books and treatises published in his own name, under the statute of 23 Elizabeth, chapter 2, against "seditious words and rumors, uttered against the queen's most excellent majesty, tending to the stirring up of rebellion among her subjects." But, aided doubtless by some legal friend — though these persecuted puritan divines understood the law very well themselves † — he presented to the court an argument so able and conclusive, as to quash this.‡ In this paper Penry argues, that he was not in danger of

* *Hanbury*, i. 75-78; *Waddington's Penry*, 171-77.

† See, for example, *Udal's* repeated examinations, in which he showed himself a match for the whole court — judges and attorneys. — *Cobbett's State Trials*, vol. i. No. 68.

‡ That he was thus indicted, and was arraigned and made to plead to the indictment, is inferrible from the fact that such an argument was made by him; for persons charged with treason had no opportunity to know, in those days, what their indictments were to be, until they were arraigned; and even then they were allowed only to hear their indictments read in open court, and were denied copies of them. This was true of the criminal practice of England for a long period after this date. See the report of *Algernon Sidney's* trial, in 1688; and the Preface to the second edition of the *State Trials*, in 1780.

the statute of 23 Elizabeth, against "seditious words and rumors;" 1st. Because his books were against the canonical functions of the pope only, and in defence of those points of religion which were termed Lollardy, in former ages; and as this statute neither revived the laws of Henry V. and VIII. against Lollardy, nor repealed the statute of Edward VI, which repealed those of Henry V. and VIII, it could in no wise take hold of him. 2. If this statute was against such books as reprove the church government by lord archbishops and bishops, then it must condemn "the writings of the holy martyrs, and Wickliffe, Thorpe, Swin-derby, Cobham, Tyndale, Frith," etc.; also, the profession and practice of the Reformed churches of France, and Scotland, and the writings of Calvin, Beza and others, as "seditious words and rumors" against the queen, and tending to stir up rebellion. And so, too, the printing and selling of these books would be against this statute; whereas many of them were now actually published by her majesty's authority. 3. If this statute was against such books, it would have enumerated the points of religion which were not to be controverted, as the statute of 35 Henry VIII. did. 4. It would have particularly forbidden preaching on these points; which it does not; for a man may *preach* all that John Penry has written, and bring himself into no danger from this statute. 5. If this statute related to religious discussions, then the popish recusants who published in defence of

their opinions were especially guilty ; whereas it was well known, that any papist, but a Seminary priest or Jesuit, might write and publish what he pleased, if he did not impugn the "supremacy," and yet incur no penalty of death. 6. This statute was aimed against books only written against her majesty's own royal person. This was evident from the title and drift of the statute, and from the fact that it revived the act of 1 Elizabeth, which forbids the defamation of her majesty or her heirs, being kings or queens of this land. Therefore, this statute had no hold of John Penry, who in all his writings had spoken most dutifully and reverently of her majesty and her government. 7. He had never written anything with any malicious intent towards any person. 8. He never wrote anything false, slanderous or malicious ; but only the pure doctrine of the word of God and of the Reformed churches, and of the holy martyrs of former times, and that established by her majesty's authority. 9. He never wrote anything to move or encourage insurrection or rebellion, but the clear contrary. 10. He was never at a conventicle, where any number of persons were together with force of arms, to alter anything established by law ; and therefore was in no danger of 1 Mary 12, and 1 Elizabeth. 11. He never advocated the right of any private person to alter anything established by law ; and therefore could not be within the compass of 1 Elizabeth 17. He had evermore and still did gainsay all such godless and wicked practices.

12. If guilty of the crime charged against him, he should have been accused within one month; and either his voluntary confession or the evidence of two witnesses been brought against him. 13. He should have been indicted within a year; otherwise, though he were guilty, the statute itself cleared him in express words.*

Perceiving the danger of a successful law argument on these well-taken points, and a failure to convict the prisoner for anything published by him, the court relinquished their first purpose, and decided to indict, and hang him too — for they were intent on his destruction — for words never published, nor, in a legal sense, uttered by him; words found in strictly private papers, which had never been seen by mortal eyes, except the writer's, until dragged to light by the pursuivants, who had plundered Penry's study some three years before. Accordingly, two indictments were drawn, embodying the most offensive expressions which could be culled from those papers. The first of which set forth, in the usual Latin formula of the day, that "a certain John Penry, lately of London, a clergyman, not having the fear of God before his eyes, but seduced by diabolical instigation, etc., at Edinburgh, Scotland, on the last day of April, in the 31st of Elizabeth's reign, deliberately, and with malicious intention, against her majesty the queen, feloniously devised and wrote certain false,

* *Strype's Whitgift*, II. 181-84.

sedition and scandalous matters in defamation of her majesty, the queen, having in view the instigation, support and movement of rebellion and insurrection within the kingdom, in the following words, among others, viz.: 'The last days of your reign' (meaning the reign of her majesty) 'are turned against Christ Jesus and his gospel, than to the maintenance of the same; and I have great cause of complaint, madam, nay, the Lord and his church hath cause to complain of your government, not so much for any outward injury, as [which] I, or any other of your subjects have received, as because we your subjects, this day are not permitted to serve our God under your government according to his word, but are sold to be bond slaves, not only to our affections, to do what we will, so that we keep ourselves within the compass of established civil laws, but also to be servants to the Man of Sin and his ordinances. And it is not the force which we seem to fear that will come upon us, for the Lord may destroy both you, for denying, and us for slack-seeking of his will by strangers, I come unto you with it, if you will hear it, that our case may be eased, if not, that yet posterity may know that you have been dealt with, and that this age may see, that there is no great expectation to be looked for at your hands. And amongst the rest of the princes under the gospel that have been drawn to oppose themselves against the gospel, you must think yourself to be one, for until you see this madam you see not yourself. And they

are but sycophants and flatterers whosoever tell you otherwise.

“ ‘ Your standing is and hath been by the gospel, it is little or smally beholding [beholden] unto you, for anything that appeareth. The practice of your government shows it, that if you could have ruled without the gospel, it would have been to be feared whether the gospel should be established, or not. For, now that you are established in your throne, and that by the gospel, you have suffered the gospel to reach no further than the end of your sceptre limited unto it; and briefly madam, you may well see the foundation of England rooted up, but this cause’ (meaning the cause of John Penry and other schismatics and sectaries within this kingdom of England) ‘ will you never see suppressed, and now whereas we should have your help both to join ourselves to the true church, and to reject the false, and all ordinances thereof, we are in your kingdom permitted to do neither, but accounted seditious men, if we affirm either one or the other of the former points. And, therefore madam, you are not so much, an adversary to us poor men, as unto Christ Jesus, and the wealth of his kingdom. And but madam, yet thus much we must needs say, that in all likelihood, if the days of your sister Queen Mary, and her persecution had continued to this day, this church of God in England had been far more flourishing than at this day it is.

“ ‘ And now madam your majesty may consider

what good the church of God hath gotten at your hands even outward peace, with the absence of Christ Jesus and his ordinances, otherwise, as great troubles likely to come as ever were in the days of your sister.'* — To the great scandal and defamation of the queen, subversion of the laws of this kingdom of England and to the stirring up of insurrection and rebellion in this kingdom of England, against the peace, and in contempt of the crown and dignity of the queen and contrary to the form of the statute in such cases made and provided."

The second indictment sets forth in barbarous law Latin, that the same John Penry, on the first day of March, in the thirty-third year of the reign of her majesty, Elizabeth [1590–91], at Edinburgh, devised and wrote certain malicious and scandalous falsehoods in defamation of the queen, and for the purpose of promoting rebellion, as follows :

"What has England answered, Surely with an impudent forehead she hath said, 'I will not come near the Holy One, and as for the building of his house, I will not so much as lift up a finger towards that work, nay, I will continue the desolations thereof, and if any man speaketh a word in the behalf of this house, or bewaileth the misery of it, I will account him an enemy to my State.

* This embraces about half of Penry's "Address to the Queen, in a Petition," as Strype gives it. — *Whitgift's Life*, II. 178–81; *Coke's Book of Entries—Indictments*, p. 358. Lond. 1671.

As for the gospel, and ministry of it, I have already received all the gospels, and all the ministries that I mean to receive. I have received a reading gospel and a reading ministry, a pompous gospel and a pompous ministry, a gospel and a ministry that strengtheneth the hands of the wicked in his iniquity; A gospel and a ministry that will stoop unto me, and be at my beck, either to speak or to be mute, when I shall think good: Briefly, I have received a gospel and ministry that will never trouble my conscience with the sight of my sins, which is all the gospels and all the ministries that I mean to receive. And I will make a sure hand, that the Lord's house, if I can choose, shall be no otherwise edified, than by the hands of such men as bring unto me the aforesaid gospel, and the aforesaid ministry: And, as for the general state, either of the magistracy, of the ministry, or of the common people, behold nothing else but a multitude of conspirators against God, against the truth, against the building of his house, against his saints and children and consequently against the wealth of their own souls, and public peace and tranquillity of this whole kingdom, And you shall find amongst this crew' (innuendo, archiepiscopus, episcopus, et ministros ecclesiæ hujus regni Angliæ per auctoritatem regiam, et leges et statuta ejusdem regni infra hoc regnum manutent.) 'nothing else but a troop of bloody soul-murders, sacrilegious church-robbers and such as made themselves fat with the blood of men's souls, and

the utter ruin of the church. And it is now grown, and hath been of long time a common practice of these godless men to make of the statutes ordained for the maintenance of religion, and common quietness, a pit wherein to catch the peaceable of the land, and because our council may be truly said to delight in this injury and violent oppression of God's saints and ministers, therefore, whensoever the Lord shall come to search for the sins of England with lights, as Zephaniah saith, he will surely visit our council with a heavy plague, because they are undoubtedly frozen in their dregs, and persuade their own hearts, that the Lord will do neither good nor evil in the defence of his messengers and children, and then they shall feel what it is to wink at (much more to procure) the oppression of the church of Christ; I will not in this place charge our council with that which followeth in Jeremy, upon the place before alleged, namely, that they execute no judgment, no, not the judgment of the fatherless. But this I will say, that they cannot possibly deal truly in the matter of justice between man and man, insomuch as they bend all their forces to bereave Christ Jesus of that right which he hath in the government of his church. The which ungodly and wicked course, as they have held on ever since the beginning of her majesty's reign so at this day they have taken greater boldness, and grown more rebellious against the Lord, and his cause than ever they were.' — *Ad magnum scandalum et defamationem dictæ*

dominæ reginæ, subversionem legum hujus regni Angliæ,' etc.*

These indictments are here given in full, because they contain the very worst things which the lawyers and the clergy could, with their utmost diligence, cull out of Penry's private writings, including even his secret diary. Much of the language here ascribed to Penry, it must be admitted, was, on the face of it, sufficiently offensive, as addressed to Elizabeth; and its offensiveness was not in the least mitigated by its truthfulness. But, what was there traitorous in all this? Who would have scented treason here, but men bent on hanging an innocent, obnoxious prisoner? Yet, even admit-

* *Coke's Book of Entries*, Indictments, 353.

I have endeavored to follow the copy literally, in transcribing these indictments, except that most of the useless Latin parenthetical explanations, with which the lawyers interlarded Penry's words, have been omitted or translated; as have also the Latin captions and conclusions of the indictments. The punctuation of Penry's language in the indictments is so bad as sometimes to render his meaning uncertain; yet I have not ventured to alter it; as this, with the general character of the quotations, may illustrate the truth of Penry's declaration: that the papers from which these paragraphs were culled, were merely a collection of notes, and a rough draft of thoughts, many of them suggested to him by others, undigested, and incoherent, which he would not "for a thousand worlds" acknowledge as his own, being "so imperfect as to have no coherence at all, and in most places to carry no true English," and from which no person but himself could possibly gather any purpose. The substance of both indictments may be found in *Collier's Ch. Hist.*, vii. 175-78; and the paper on which the first indictment was founded, in *Strype's Whitgift*, ii. 178-81. I have followed Coke's copy, which differs in some slight particulars from the others.

ting the words themselves to have been treasonable — deeply treasonable — they had no relation to any overt act; they pointed to no malicious, treasonable design; no stirring of rebellion — no violation of law; they had never been published; there had been no utterance of them; they were strictly private memoranda, which had never been read nor seen by any one but the writer; who alone knew of their existence, until discovered by the pursuivants. Whatever, then, might be thought of these words, they certainly lacked the essential element of treason — utterance — action — or some manifest connection with a treasonable undertaking or design.* Even the savage laws, rulings and usages of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries required this construction. Such private, written words were, in point of fact, no more treasonable than a person's private thoughts and emotions. And to try Penry for treason on these indictments was, therefore, to violate the most obvious principle of common law and common sense. It was even worse than this: it was to disregard the spirit of the queen's express and solemn protestation — that while her subjects did not openly break her laws, "her majesty's meaning was, not to have any of them molested by any inquisition or examination

* *Foster* lays down the rule, that papers not published, while in the hands of the author, and not connected with some treasonable act or design, are not treasonable. — *Crown Law*, p. 198; *Hale's Pleas*, i. 117; *Croke's Reports*, iv. 125.

of their consciences in causes of religion ;” * for the obnoxious words, ascribed to Penry, until uttered in some way by him, were really nothing more in law than his secret thoughts and reflections. Yet for penning these words, John Penry was arraigned at the queen’s bench, May 21st, 1593, and tried and convicted as a traitor to his sovereign and her government.

But two other instances are known in English jurisprudence where unpublished words, disconnected with any overt acts, were taken as evidence of treason. In the reign of James I. a puritan minister in Somersetshire, the Rev. Edward, or Edmond Peacham, had made himself obnoxious to the government by his preaching. His study was suddenly broken open, and a manuscript sermon was found, in which James was sharply censured for his various extravagances, love of dogs,

* June 15, 1570, Elizabeth ordered the following declaration to be made in the Star Chamber :—“ Whereas certain rumors are carried and spread abroad among sundry her majesty’s subjects, that her majesty had caused, or will hereafter cause, inquisition and examination to be had of men’s consciences in matters of religion ; her majesty would have it known that such reports are utterly untrue, and grounded either of malice, or of some fear more than there is cause. * * * Wherefore her majesty would have all her loving subjects to understand, that, as long as they shall openly continue in the observation of her laws, and shall not wilfully break them by their open actions, her majesty’s meaning is, not to have any of them molested by any inquisition or examination of their consciences in causes of religion ; but will accept and entreat them as her good and obedient subjects.” — *Strype’s Ann.*, vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 371–72.

dances, banquets, costly dresses, etc.; and the frauds and oppressive acts of his government were condemned. The poor old man was dragged up to London, committed to the Tower, examined under torture, without extracting anything treasonable from him, and finally tried and condemned, August 7th, 1615, for treason, on this manuscript sermon, which had never been preached, and which there was no proof was ever intended to be preached. This was done to please the king, who employed Bacon to tamper with the judges and induce them to adopt his interpretation of the law. Coke did not readily yield to this proceeding, and absented himself from the bench on Peacham's trial; and other judges had so much doubt of the lawfulness of the decision, that Peacham's sentence was never executed on him. His sufferings, however, probably hurried him out of the world in a few months after his trial.*

* *Croke's Reports*, vol. iv. p. 125; *Foster's Crown Law*, p. 198. The fullest and best account of this extraordinary case of persecution, and perversion of law, may be found in *Knight's Pictorial History of England*, vol. III. pp. 56-57. Royal 8vo. ed. 1847.

Francis Bacon was James' principal tool in this infamous business, of "feeling of the judges of the king's bench," separately, and committing them, one by one, without consultation with each other, and before the case was brought before them, to the views of James. Bacon prepared twelve interrogatories, which were put to Peacham "before torture, in torture, and after torture," but without eliciting anything. Bacon seems to have entered heartily into this perversion of justice. — See the correspondence and other particulars in *Bacon's Works*, vol. III. pp. 258-271. 4to. ed. London, 1778. I have not readily found a word about this disreputable business in Spedding's edition of *Bacon's Works*.

The other case was that of the celebrated Algernon Sidney, tried for treason in November 1683. In this case, Judge Jeffreys ruled, that a private manuscript, said to have been found in Sidney's study — never published, and the authorship not proved — only that the writing resembled Sidney's — was good evidence of his treason — “plain treason within 25 Edward III.” And when Sidney objected, that no overt act of treason had been proved on him, and asked, “Is writing an act?” Jeffreys replied: “Yes, it is *agere — scribere est agere!*” To write is to commit an overt act. On this ruling Sidney was condemned and executed for treason. But parliament reversed this decision, and removed the attainder; but not in season to save the life of this distinguished patriot.*

But Penry's case — which is not alluded to in any of the Law Reports that I have examined — was a harder case than either of the above, the rulings in which are pronounced by the best law authorities “unwarrantable”; for, the words ruled to be treasonable, in his case, were not only unpublished and strictly private, but were utterly disavowed as his own, and declared to be the expressions of other men, with whom he did not agree in opinion.

So far as appears, Penry made no defence at the

* *Howell's State Trials*, vol. ix., particularly p. 301. Ed. 1816; *Hale's Pleas*, vol. i. p. 117; *Croke and Foster*, *ut sup.*

time of his trial — if trial it may be called. He might have felt that it was useless to contend with the Church and the Bench arrayed against him and determined on his conviction. The condition of an obnoxious prisoner arraigned for treason was, in those days, hopeless enough, at the best. He was not furnished with any knowledge of the indictment to which he was to plead until it was read to him, in Latin, at the bar, and even then, he was not allowed a copy of it; neither was he furnished with a list of witnesses, who were to appear against him; nor of the jurors, who were to try him. No counsel was allowed him in court, except on points of law, which he was required to specify on the spot, leaving it to the court to decide whether they were worth considering; but, friendless and alone, he was compelled to face hostile crown lawyers, and often equally hostile judges who were removable at the pleasure of the crown, and who were often as intent on the conviction of the prisoner as were the lawyers who managed the prosecution.* All these difficulties were encountered by Penry, aggravated by the well known and long cherished desire of the government to procure his conviction and execution. So that it is not strange that the prisoner at the bar should submit to his fate without an effort to move the court.

But the day following the trial, Penry addressed

* *State Trials*, Emlyn's Preface, vol. i. p. xxxi. Ed. 1809.
Also Algernon Sidney's Trial, *State Trials*, vol. ix.

to the queen, from whom alone he had any hope, a long and triumphant vindication of his loyalty, and explanation of the matter of the indictments.* This was sent under cover to Lord Burleigh; with the earnest request to his lordship, "to read and duly weigh the writing enclosed," and to plead his cause, and "acquaint her majesty with his guiltless estate." "The case," Penry says, "is most lamentable, that the private observations of any student, being in a foreign land, and wishing well to his prince and country, should bring his life, with blood, unto a violent end; especially, seeing they are most private, and so imperfect, as they have no coherence at all in them, and in most places carry no true English." In conclusion, he says to Burleigh: "Being likely to trouble your lordship with no more letters, I do, with thankfulness, acknowledge your honor's favors towards me, in that you have been always open to receive the writings which I have presumed to send unto you, from time to time, and in this, my last, I protest before the Lord God, that I have written nothing but truth unto your lordship, in any of my letters, that I know of."

In this "Protestation," as he termed it, while submitting himself unreservedly to her majesty's hands, to do with him whatever in her conscience

* This document, though it bears the marks of haste and perturbation, is an extremely interesting paper, and must satisfy any unprejudiced reader of the entire innocence and transparent honesty and Christian simplicity of the writer.

she might deem just and right, after knowing the truth in his case, Penry declares, in the most emphatic and unequivocal manner, his absolute and undeviating dutifulness and loyalty towards her majesty. Of whatever other faults and sins he had been guilty, he protests, that he had never failed in loyalty to his sovereign, in deed, word, or even thought. And in proof of this, he appeals boldly to his published works, and even to his private papers, including his personal diary, which the government had in their possession, and which contained a daily record of his "sins and corruptions," and the "special requests" which he made unto the Lord from time to time.

As to the particular paragraphs extracted from his private papers and charged against him as treasonable — "for the most part the secret and confused observations of my own study," as he calls them — he tells her majesty, that these observations were set down by him, either as objections made by others to her excellent majesty — for the most part in their own words or like words — whereof he thought to have considered further, if at all, for her majesty's clearing, or as the grounds of a brief treatise, to be presented, with his own hands, to her highness, for a manifestation of his faith and allegiance towards the Lord and her majesty, as a private advertisement, whether many things were not done under her government, without her knowledge, to the hindrance of the free gospel, for which she was blamed in foreign countries, and would suffer in after time.

And further in respect to these secret observations, he declares that they were not only most imperfect, but so private that no creature under heaven was privy to them but himself, until they were seized and made public by those who searched his study, and who alone were accountable for their publicity. "Mine," he says, "I dare not acknowledge them to be for a thousand worlds; because I should thereby most fearfully sin against the Lord and mine own conscience, in bearing false witness against myself." And he most earnestly protests, that so far was he from having originated these objections against her majesty, that he had even defended her, according to his ability, when they had been made in his hearing by ministers and others in Scotland; and he could name Englishmen who could testify to having heard these objections and his answers to them; and he staked his very life on his ability to prove the truthfulness of these assertions: "As I shall answer before the Lord my God," he says, "I had no other but this dutiful meaning in setting down whatsoever is now so heinously interpreted in those my writings. Briefly, the most dutiful and reverend regard which I have carried toward her majesty in my public writings, wheresoever I have mentioned her or her government; the tenor of my life that way; together with the testimony of all those which have known me or my writings, especially such of my countrymen as knew me in Scotland, will clear me of whatsoever may touch my loyalty towards my

sovereign." In conclusion he says: "Great things in this life I never sought for, not so much as in thought. A mean and base outward state, according to my mean condition, I was content with. Sufficiency I have had, with great outward troubles; but most contented I was with my lot; and content I am, and shall be with my undeserved and untimely death; beseeching the Lord, that it be not laid to the charge of any creature in this land; for I do, from my heart, forgive all those that seek my life, as I desire to be forgiven in that day of strict account; praying for them, as for my own soul, that, although upon earth we cannot accord, we may yet meet in heaven, unto our eternal comfort and unity, where all controversies shall be at an end. And if my death can procure any quietness to the Church of God, or the State, I shall rejoice. I know not to what better use it could be employed if it were reserved; and therefore in this cause I desire not to spare the same. Thus have I lived towards the Lord and my prince; and thus I mean to die, by His grace. Many such subjects I wish unto my prince, though no such reward to any of them."*

Whether this earnest, truthful, and convincing appeal ever reached the hands of Elizabeth is quite

* Penry's Letter to Burleigh and his "Protestation" are given entire by Strype, in his *Life of Whitgift*, III. 808-813, Appendix XVII., compared with *Strype's Annals*, vol. III. pt. II. pp. 94-5. Mr. Waddington also gives these documents in his *Life of Penry*, pp. 186-200.

problematical. That it was never read by her is morally certain; for if it had been she could not have failed to respond to it in some way. It was probably committed to the law officers of the crown, who had already failed in one indictment, and were in no humor to be compelled to quash a second and a third indictment against this "schismatical" and "hypocritical" Separatist, the associate and friend of Barrowe and Greenwood, whom he regarded as "holy martyrs." These lawyers treated Penry's solemn protest as mere pretence, saying: "Penry is not, as he pretendeth, a loyal subject; but a seditious disturber of her majesty's peaceable government, [as] appeareth many ways: By his schismatical separation from the society of the church of England, and joining with the hypocritical and schismatical conventicles of Barrowe and Greenwood. By his justifying of Barrowe and Greenwood, who, suffering worthily for their seditious writings and preachings, are, nevertheless, represented by him as holy martyrs,"* etc. Accordingly judgment was not stayed; and on the 25th of May, Penry was brought up for sentence. Being asked if he had anything to say why sentence of death should not be passed on him, he replied, nothing more than he had already said. Sentence was then pronounced; and he, who had not failed for years to pray daily for his queen, was doomed to be hanged as a traitor to

* *Waddington, ut sup.*

her person and government. But probably to deceive the people and prevent a manifestation of popular sympathy, such as had been shown for Barrowe and Greenwood a short time previous, the execution was not ordered on the day following the sentence, as was customary in those times; and Penry's friends were thus led to expect a respite or pardon. In this, however, they were deceived; for on the 29th, the warrant was signed, and the guiltless prisoner was suddenly informed, while at dinner, that he must die at four o'clock that afternoon.* He was not taken by surprise. He had long expected a violent death. He chose it rather than a dishonest life. His personal preparations were all made. He had nothing to do but to commit himself to Him who judgeth righteously.

A gallows was hastily erected at a place known as Thomas-a-Watering, about two miles from London, on the Kent road; and the victim of ecclesiastical vengeance was hurried out to slaughter. Arrived at the gallows, Penry was not allowed to open his mouth in protestation of his innocence, or his loyalty even, to the little company of persons accidentally present; for, though the course of the government had been such as to prevent a knowledge of the execution, or even a suspicion that it would take place immediately, and consequently

* *Strype* says Penry was executed the *same month* that he was imprisoned.—*Life of Whitgift*, II. 176. But *Strype* evidently could not have read Penry's own account of his arrest and trial, nor have examined the records of his trials with any care.

to prevent any gathering of Penry's friends — yet the crown officers, conscious of the outrage which they were perpetrating, feared an insurrection of the populace, and hurried through the dismal tragedy with the least possible delay.*

Thus perished miserably, as a felon, at the early age of thirty-four years, a loyal, Christian scholar and divine, whose chief ambition was, to spread the blessings of the gospel in his native land ; and whose only crime was, that he adhered too closely to the spirit and letter of that gospel in his faith and practice.† He was the last of the Congregational martyrs of this cruel reign ; and we shall do no injustice to other worthy men if we say, that he was one of the very best of them.

The government, if not now satiated with the blood of these poor Christian dissenters, became at length convinced that any further executions of them, under whatever pretence, would not help the hierarchy, and wisely gave over their bloody policy from this date.

The abundant quotations from Penry's writings, and the ample details of his examinations and

* Heylyn, in his *History of Presbyterians*, in lib. ix. § 31, says : Penry was "executed with a very thin company attending on him, for fear the fellow might have raised some tumult, either in going to the gallows, or upon the ladder."

Strype says, that he was "executed hastily, being brought out in an afternoon." — *Whitgift*, II. 176 ; *Collier*, VII. 179.

† Penry's Protestation to Lord Treasurer, — *Strype's Whitg.*, III. 304-13.

trial given in the preceding pages, attest the earnestness and scriptural character of his faith, and his essential agreement with modern Congregationalists in his views of church order and government. The brief story of his life proves him to have been a man of unusual energy, of untiring activity, of great executive ability, and of simple, childlike piety. Though he has left behind him the reputation of an eloquent and impressive preacher, yet it was probably as a ready and effective writer that he particularly excelled.* He labored hard and suffered much; but his work was soon done and his sufferings soon ended, and with cheerful hope he went to his rest and reward.

* A list of Penry's published writings may be found in the Appendix, Note D.

CHAPTER VII.

FURTHER LEGISLATION AGAINST THE BROWNISTS.

ONE more chapter of legislation against the Brownists remains to be written. The eleventh parliament of Elizabeth, 1592-3, was opened on Monday, February 19th, by a speech from Sir John Puckering, keeper of the great seal, in which, among other things, he said: "Her majesty further hath willed me to signify unto you, that the calling of this parliament now is not for the making of any more new laws and statutes, for there are already a sufficient number, both of ecclesiastical and temporal; and so many there be, that rather than to burthen the subject with more to their grievance, it were fitting that an abridgment were made of those there are already. The principal cause of this parliament is, that her majesty might consult with her subjects for the better withstanding of those intended invasions, which are now greater than were ever heretofore heard of."*

If these were her majesty's views, they certainly were not those of the members of this parliament;

* *D'Ewes' Journals of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Q. Elizabeth*, pp. 456-8. Lond. 1682.

for, though they sat only to April 10th, 1593 — about forty working days — yet twenty-seven bills were passed by both houses, and a considerable number of others were discussed more or less without securing a passage. Any one who will take the trouble to read the journals of this parliament will see, that the time was very fully occupied in legislating about miscellaneous matters — two, four, six or even eight bills at a time, passing from one house to the other; while the members were somewhat slow to agree on the great business for which they were professedly called together — the furnishing of supplies for her majesty's government.

The violent construction which it was necessary to give the law of 23d Elizabeth,* in order to hang as felons those who simply opposed and wrote against the hierarchal establishment, induced the bishops to make an early attempt to get a bill through this parliament, "making it felony to maintain any opinions against the ecclesiastical government; which by the bishops' means did pass the upper house." † The bill thus described by a contemporary, appears to have been introduced into the commons on Monday, February 26th, the first working-day of the session, under the title of a bill "for reducing disloyal subjects to their due obedience." ‡

* See *ante*, vol. II. p. 506.

† See a contemporary letter, dated April 7, 1593, from Thos. Phillips to Mr. William Sterrell, in *Waddington's Hidden Church*, pp. 94-96.

‡ *D'Ewes*, 471.

As an offset to this, Mr. Morrice, attorney of the Court of Wards, moved the house the next day, "touching the hard courses of the bishops and ordinaries, and other ecclesiastical judges, in their courts, used towards sundry learned and godly ministers and preachers of this realm, by way of inquisition, subscription, and binding absolution; contrary to the honor of God, the regality of her majesty, the laws of this realm, and the liberty of the subjects of the same; compelling them upon their oath to accuse themselves in their own private actions, words and thoughts, if they shall take such oaths, because they know not to what questions they shall answer until after the time they shall be sworn." He therefore prayed for a consultation, "for redress of the said enormities," and offered two bills; "one concerning the said inquisitions, subscriptions and offering of oaths, and the other concerning the imprisonments upon their refusal to the said oaths."*

Mr. Dalton and Sir John Woolley opposed Mr. Morrice's motion. Sir Francis Knowles and Oliver St. John both favored it. After much discussion, the bills were committed to the Speaker for examination, he promising to keep them with all secrecy, and report to the house. But her majesty, being apprised of these proceedings, sent for the Speaker and charged him, "that no bill touching the said matter of the State, or reformation in

* *D'Ewes' Journals*, p. 474.

causes ecclesiastical be exhibited;" and on his allegiance commanded him, "if any such bill be exhibited, not to read it."* Mr. Morrice himself, was placed under restraint by the queen's orders.† Thus was quenched, at once, this bold movement of the friends of religious freedom in parliament, to obtain relief from the inquisitorial acts of the bishops.

On the 28th of February, the bishops' bill was read a second time, and elicited considerable discussion. It was strenuously opposed by several speakers, and was finally recommitted. The bill did not appear again in the commons until Monday, March 12th, when the committees reported it, and also a new bill, made for that purpose, with the prayer that the new bill might be read. And

* *D'Ewes' Journal*, p. 478.

† Mr. Hopkins gives a very good account of these transactions, and assigns satisfactory reasons for believing that the current account of Morrice's confinement and suffering for the part he took in introducing these bills, derived from Heylyn, is not the truth; that his restraint was temporary and not severe; instead of being life-long, as Heylyn reports. For this leniency he was undoubtedly indebted mainly to Lord Burleigh and the Earl of Essex. — *Hist. Pur.*, III. 552-60.

This arrest of Morrice and interference with bills before the house, was not the only instance of arbitrary power exercised over this parliament by the despotic Elizabeth. Peter Wentworth and Sir Henry Bromley were imprisoned for presenting a petition to the lord-keeper, desiring the lords to unite with the commons, in supplicating her majesty to entail the succession of the crown; and Richard Stevens and Mr. Welch were committed for being privy to this motion. — *D'Ewes*, 470.

accordingly, this bill had its first reading.* The next day it was again read and discussed.

Mr. Sands wished to point the law particularly against the Brownists and Barrowists. Mr. Lewes would confine it to popish recusants. The Speaker said that other than popish recusants could not be comprised therein; but that another bill might be framed. Mr. Dalton would have the preamble so altered as to include Brownists. Dr. Lewin wished the Brownists and Barrowists provided against. And finally the bill was recommitted.†

On Saturday, the 17th of March, the two bills were again before the house; and certain amendments were reported and adopted. On Saturday, the 31st, these bills, or similar ones, sent from the lords, were before the house, with a message from their lordships, praying expedition. On Monday, April 2d, what appears to have been the second of the two bills reported March 12th — the new bill, which is described by D'Ewes, as "the bill for explanation of a branch of the statute made in the twenty-third year of the queen's majesty's reign, entitled 'An Act to retain the queen's majesty's subjects in their due obedience,' with some amendments to the same" — had its first reading. On Wednesday, the 4th, this bill was read a second time and called forth an animated and important discussion. Among others, the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh made a speech, which, as an illustration

* *D'Ewes*, 497-8.

† *Ib.* 500.

of the dislike of the Brownists or Barrowists entertained in court circles at that time, and for the hint it furnishes of the prevalence of their "heretical" opinions, deserves to be quoted.

He said: "In my conceit the Brownists are worthy to be rooted out of a commonwealth. But what danger may grow to ourselves if this law pass, it were fit to be considered. For it is to be feared that men not guilty will be included in it. And that law is hard that taketh life and sendeth into banishment, where men's intentions are to be judged by a jury, and they shall be judges what another means. But that law which is against fact [which punishes for an act] is but just; and punish the fact as severely as you will. If two or three thousand Brownists meet at the sea, at whose charges shall they be transported? or whither will you send them? I am sorry for it, I am afraid there is near twenty thousand of them in England; and when they be gone, who shall maintain their wives and children?" *

Mr. Finch said: "There be great faults in the preamble and the body of this bill. It pretendeth a punishment only to the Barrowists and sectaries; but throughout the whole bill, not one thing that concerneth a Barrowist [exclusively]. And if we make a law against Barrowists and Brownists, let us set down a note of them, who they are. But as the bill is, not to come to church, or to speak

* *D'Ewes*, 517.

against the [ecclesiastical] government established, this is not the opinion of the Brownists [*i. e.*, is not peculiar to the Brownists]. This law being allowed to be an explanation of 23 [23d Eliz.] maketh all the offenders in that statute to be traitors. This law excepts no person. So all are in the former penalties of that law, for 23 Eliz. is only for such as are of the Romish religion. And now to make it include all the opinions, is to make additions to that, but no explanations. The clause of speaking against law is very dangerous; for who can be safe from this? ‘*Non hospes ab hospite tutus.*’ For if a man speak against non-residents, excommunication as it used, or any other abuse of the church, he incurs the danger of the law. The clause against conventicles is very dangerous. For the conference of any persons together, being of any number, the prayers of holy exercise, being not allowable in any place by law, is an assembling against the laws: for the words be very strict, howsoever not contrary to the law, the offence is all one. Now in the body of the law, the words, ecclesiastical are not such as be meant *in primo* of the queen, but such as are intended in this statute. And the annexing of the words: ‘He must be an obstinate recusant, and also write and speak, etc.’ — this is very suspicious; for, *obscuris vera* is never good. Whosoever repaireth not to his own parish church is a recusant within this law. — ‘*Vide apr. 6 die veneris sequent.*’” *

* *D'Ewes*, 517.

These speeches will give the reader an idea of the severe character of the bill which the church authorities were now trying to get through parliament. But with all the avowed hatred of the Brownists, the members of the house were not willing to put all dissenters thus at the mercy of the bishops' courts; and the bill was again recommitted, this time to all the privy council.

On the 6th of April, Sir Thomas Heneage, the vice-chamberlain, reported to the house, that after "long tarrying together," and much discussion, the committee had been unable to agree on a form of a bill which would meet "the disordered Barrowists and Brownists, without peril of entrapping honest and loyal subjects." This report gave rise to further speeches, *pro* and *con*, and resulted in a proposition for a conference with the lords. In this conference "some additions, subtractions and alterations" were agreed on and recommended. The house discussed these, referred them again to some of the former committees, and finally passed the bill, on Saturday, April 7th, 1593,* three days—two working days—before the final adjournment of parliament.

As passed, this statute is entitled: "An Act to retain the Queen's subjects in Obedience." It provided, that every person above the age of sixteen years, who obstinately refused to attend the services of the established church of England, or

* *D'Ewes*, 520.

persuaded any one so to do, or to refuse the communion, or to deny her majesty's authority in causes ecclesiastical; or to attend a conventicle, and refused to conform — should be subjected to imprisonment without bail or mainprise. And if for three months he refused to conform, he was doomed to abjure the realm; or if he refused to abjure, or neglected to depart, or returned without leave, he was condemned to death as a felon, without benefit of clergy. Persons harboring such recusants, except within specified degrees of kindred and connection, after due notice, forfeited *ten pounds sterling* a month for every such offence. And all persons who abjured the realm, or who, being found guilty, refused to abjure, forfeited their goods and chattels forever, and their landed rights and possessions during life.*

This cruel statute was made to take effect on and after the 20th of May, 1593, and to continue in effect until the close of the next parliament.

It was four years before another parliament was summoned, October, 1597, and adjourned, February 9th, 1597–8. This parliament renewed the statute, to be in force until the close of the next parliament; which assembled October 27th, 1601, and adjourned December 19th, 1601. This was the last of Elizabeth's parliaments. The statute was again renewed by the first parliament of

* *Statutes of the Realm*, 35 Elizabeth, chap. 1, vol. iv. pp. 841–43.

James I., which assembled March 19, 1603-4, to be in force to the end of the next parliament; and by that parliament was renewed, with slight alterations, without limitation of time.*

Thus, this oppressive act of legislation was brought to bear for a long term of years on the hated dissenters and separatists from the established church; causing their imprisonment, and the confiscation of their property, and driving them into foreign lands, there to drag out their weary lives among unsympathizing strangers, in poverty and reproach. Under this law thousands of good men, in every part of the kingdom, suffered for an entire generation; all because they would not sacrifice their conscientious religious convictions to the will of a corrupt hierarchy.

It was while this unchristian law was under discussion in parliament, and on the very day that the committee reported the impossibility of coming to any agreement, the sixth of April, 1593, that those unflinching Congregationalists, Barrowe and Greenwood, were suddenly hurried to the gallows; as people said, "of malice of the bishops, to spite the nether house," where the bishops' original bill encountered such severe opposition as to raise a doubt whether any bill of the kind could be gotten through; the archbishop fearing, probably, lest his prey, which he had taken so much pains to entrap,

* *Statutes at Large*, 89 Eliz. ch. 18, sect. 26; 48 Eliz. ch. 9, sect. 18; 1 James, ch. 25, sect. 18; 3 James I. ch. 4, sect. 19.

might escape him altogether, unless speedily made way with.*

* The following contemporary account of this statute, already referred to, is given in a letter of Thos. Phillips to Mr William Sterrell, dated April 7th, 1593, found among the State Papers, and copied by Mr. Waddington : —

“There was a bill preferred against the Barrowists and Brownists, making it felony to maintain any opinions against the ecclesiastical government, which, by the bishops’ means, did pass the upper house, but was found so captious by the nether house as it was thought would never have passed in any sort; for it was thought all the puritans would have been drawn within the compass thereof.

“Yet, by the earnest laboring of those [who] sought to satisfy the bishops’ humors, it was passed, to this effect : — That whosoever shall be an obstinant recusant, refusing to come to any church, and do deny the queen to have any power and authority in ecclesiastical causes, and do by writing, or otherwise, publish the same, and be a keeper of conventicles also, being convicted, he shall abjure the realm within three months, and lose all his goods and herds : if he return without leave, it shall be felony.

“Thus have they minced it, as is thought, so that it will not reach to any man that shall deserve favor, in a concurrence of so many faults and actions.

“The week before, upon the late conventicle you wrote of last, Barrowe and Greenwood, with some others, were indicted, arraigned, and condemned, upon the statute of writing and publishing seditious books, and would have been executed; but, as they were ready to be trussed up, were reprieved. But the day after the court-house had showed their dislike of the bill, were, early in the morning, hanged.

“It is plainly said, that their execution proceeded of malice of the bishops, to spite the nether house; which hath procured them much hatred among the common people affected that way.” — *Hidden Church*, pp. 95, 96.

CHAPTER VIII

A CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH ORGANIZED, 1592. — ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT OF THE PASTOR AND A MAJORITY OF THE CHURCH. — BANISHMENT TO HOLLAND. — TROUBLES THERE. — THE APOLOGY AND CONFESSION OF THE SEPARATISTS.

WHILE the tragical events connected with the imprisonment and execution of Barrowe, Greenwood and Penry were transpiring, the Separatists who were still at liberty, nothing terrified by their adversaries, continued to meet in considerable numbers for social worship. This they did, to be sure, at great personal inconvenience and hazard, in the dead of night, or very early in the morning, in the fields and woods, and in "garden houses" around London, and at public and private houses in the city; changing often from place to place, to avoid observation and discovery.* On the Lord's

* A "Garden House," was a gardener's house. London was surrounded with forests and fields, at that time, interspersed with patches of land, cleared and cultivated by those who supplied the London markets. A public house at Islington, for some reason, was a favorite resort of protestant dissenters in this and previous reigns; and the "Woodside," Islington, was another; Fox's Ordinary, in the city, was still another; and Mr. Bilson's house in Cree-church, Mr. Lee's, near Smithfield, a house in Aldgate, "a

day they continued their meetings through the day, dining together, and it is not unlikely partaking of the Lord's supper, and taking up a collection at the close, to pay for their food and to aid their poor brethren in prison. These meetings, though conducted with great caution — the brethren coming to the place singly, or only two or three together, and a doorkeeper being appointed to warn them of approaching danger — were yet not absolutely private; for persons were admitted who were not avowedly Separatists. If there chanced to be a preacher among them, they listened to a sermon; but if there was no preacher, they spent the day in reading and hearing the Scriptures read and expounded, and in prayer and religious conference; and, if we may credit the report of an enemy, their services were none of the shortest.*

garden house" in Dukes'-Place, near Aldgate, George Johnson's school-house, in Nicholas Lane, Catherine Unwin's house, probably at Ratcliffe — were all meeting places for the Separatists. — See Examinations of William Smyth and Thomas Settle, both Cambridge scholars, who joined the despised Separatists in London, and suffered severely for their faith. — *Brook*, II. 44-48; *Hanbury*, I. 87, 88; *Life of Penry*, 123, 125; and *Hidden Church*, 49.

* *Hanbury*, I. 86, quotes from a rare old tract printed in 1641, entitled, "The Brownists' Synagogue," etc., p. 5, which thus describes these Separatists' meetings: "In that house where they intend to meet, there is one appointed to keep the door, for the intent to give notice if there should be any insurrection, warning may be given them. They do not flock together, but come two or three in a company. Any man may be admitted thither; and all being gathered together, the man appointed to teach, stands in the midst of the room and his audience gather about him. He

After associating in this way for sometime, their numbers became so considerable that it was deemed expedient to organize, formally, a Congregational church, choose a pastor and other officers, and set things in order according to apostolic example. And this they did, probably in September 1592, in the house of one Fox, who kept an ordinary in St. Nicholas Lane, Lombard Street, London; or at Mr. Bilson's house, in Cree-church. A considerable number of men, women and children were present on this interesting occasion: among them, the Rev. Francis Johnson, and the Rev. John Greenwood, Christopher Bowman, Nicholas Lee, Daniel Studley, George Kniston, or Kinaston, William Marshal, John Becke, and "a great many more." *

prayeth about the space of half an hour; and part of his prayer is, that those which come thither to scoff and laugh, God would be pleased to turn their hearts; by which means they think to escape undiscovered. His sermon is about the space of an hour; and then doth another stand up, to make the text more plain. And at the latter end, he exhorts them all to go home severally, lest the next meeting they should be interrupted by those who are of the opinion of the wicked. They seem very steadfast in their opinions; and say, 'rather than they will turn they will burn.'"

* Most of the particulars of this interesting meeting, are derived from "The Examination of Daniel Buck, scrivener, of the burrough of Southwack, taken on the 9th day of March, [1592-3] before Henry Townsend, Richard Young, and John Ellys, Esquires;" and given by *Strype, Annals*, vol. iv. No. 115. See also vol. iii. pt. ii. ch. 19, p. 108; *Brook's Puritans*, ii. 97; *Hanbury*, i. 86. Hanbury says, that as lately as 1884, there was a courtyard in Nicholas Lane, Lombard street, London, with these words

The process of organization was very simple, comprising little else than a solemn engagement on the part of each member, to "walk with the rest of the congregation, so long as they did walk in the way of the Lord, and as far as might be warranted by the Word of God."* Without doubt each member had previously satisfied every other of the sincerity of his or her religious profession, and that there was a substantial agreement between them in religious sentiment. Unhesitating submission to the teachings of God's word, and entire freedom of conscience in the interpretation of that word, were thus made the basis of this church organization. The members doubtless believed, with their pastor, that "the church ought not to be governed by popish canons, courts, classes, customs, or any human inventions; but by the laws and rules which Christ hath appointed in his Testament." And that "every particular church, with its pastors, stands immediately under Christ, the Archpastor, without any other ecclesi-

over the entrance: "Foxes Ordinary, rebuilt, 1686." Buck says, "the church was organized and the officers chosen about half a year sithence, all in one day." If this was said March 9th, 1592-3, then, the church was formed about September 9th, 1592. But it is not easy to reconcile this date and others which will be noticed on subsequent pages.

* Buck being asked, what vow or promise he had made when he came first into their society, answered: He made this protestation — that he would walk with the rest of the congregation, so long as they did walk in the way of the Lord, etc. — *Examination, ut sup.*

astical power intervening; whether it be of prelates, synods, or any other, invented by man." *

The church being thus constituted, next proceeded to elect, from its own members, a pastor, the Rev. Francis Johnson; and a teacher, or doctor, the Rev. John Greenwood, at that time a State prisoner for his religious faith, and only out of prison on parole for a short time. Two deacons, Christopher Bowman, and Nicholas Lee; and two elders, Daniel Studley and George Kniston, were also chosen.† The sacrament of the Lord's supper was then administered in the most simple manner: A few loaves of white bread were set upon a table, these the pastor did break and deliver to some of the brethren, and the deacons to the rest, some sitting and some standing about the table. The cup was administered with like simplicity; the pastor delivering the cup unto one, and he to another, till they had all drunken; using the words of the apostle at the delivery of the bread and the wine: "Take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me. This cup is the New Testament in my blood; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me." ‡ Seven persons, children of "several years of age," were then baptized by Mr. Johnson, without godfathers or godmothers; the pastor merely saying, in Scripture language: 'I do baptize thee in the name of

* Johnson's Confession in *Brook*, II. 101.

† *Buck's Examination*, ut sup. ‡ *Ib.*

the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;’ washing the faces of them that were baptized.”* At the conclusion of this simple and impressive service, a collection was made, and taken by the deacons, to be distributed at their discretion among the poor of the congregation. The members then went forth quietly, as they had come together, uncertain whether they should ever again drink of the fruit of the vine until they drank new in their Father’s kingdom.†

This little band of Christian professors was not suffered to enjoy their church organization many weeks unmolested. First, their pastor and their teacher were arrested, on the 5th of December, 1592, in the dead of night, under circumstances of gross and unnecessary violence. The house of Mr. Boys, on Ludgate hill, London, where they were lodging, was broken open by the archbishop’s pursuivants, between one and two o’clock, and both Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Johnson arrested, the latter without any warrant, and taken to prison; while the master of the house was put under bonds, to remain a prisoner in his own house until called for; the house having been first ransacked in every

* *Buck, ut. sup.*

† “It was intended to organize a second church in the house at which Mr. Collins preached, and where the brethren, John Nicholas, Thomas Mitchell, and John Barnes, were accustomed to meet; but an intercepted letter, falling into the hands of Bishop Bancroft, revealed their plans and led to their frustration.”—*Waddington’s Penry*, p. 44; *Bancroft’s Survey*.

part, under pretence of searching for seditious papers.* Mr. Boys was soon after committed to Bridewell prison, where he remained nineteen months; after which he was removed to the Clink, and confined a close prisoner, we know not how long.†

Mr. Johnson had already endured bitter experience of hierarchal persecution; having twice before suffered imprisonment for his religious principles. On the 6th of January, 1588-9, while a member of Christ's College, Cambridge — where he took his degree of M. A., and where he was "a very popular preacher" — he delivered in St. Mary's church a sermon which was said to contain "erroneous and dangerous doctrines." For this he was convened before the vice-chancellor of the university, Dr. Nevil. The offensive sermon was preached from the first epistle of Peter, fifth chapter, first four verses: "The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed. Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock. And when the chief Shepherd shall

* *Strype's Ann.*, vol. iv. No. 133; *Brook*, 11. 96. Mr. Waddington gives the date of this arrest. I find it nowhere else. — *Hidden Church*, p. 75.

† *Brook*, 11. 89

appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away."

The erroneous and dangerous positions collected from this sermon by the ecclesiastical authorities were as follows: "1. That the church of God ought to be governed by elders. 2. That a particular form of church government is prescribed in the word of God. 3. That no other form ought to be allowed. 4. That the neglect to promote this government is one chief cause of the present ignorance, idolatry, and disobedience. 5. That we have not this government. 6. That ministers ought to live upon their own cures. 7. That there ought to be an equality among ministers, which the popish hierarchy, and all who belong to it, do not like. 8. That we have an Amaziah among us, who forbiddeth Amos to preach at Bethel. [Amos vii. 10-13.] They do not exhort to feed the flock, but hinder those that would."*

Though Mr. Johnson refused to answer under oath to these allegations, and thus become his own accuser, yet, in a written statement which he made of the points of his discourse, he does not deny that his sentiments were essentially what the above propositions ascribe to him. After repeated examinations, and an imprisonment of several months' duration, the ultimatum of the vice-chancellor was given to Mr. Johnson, October 19th,

* *Brook*, ii. 89, 90; *Strype's Whitgift*, i. 567; *Annals*, vol. ii. pt. ii.; *App.* No. 71, p. 611.

1589—to make a public recantation and confession in St. Mary's church. Failing to do this to the satisfaction of the governing powers, Mr. Johnson was expelled the university, October 30th, 1589, notwithstanding the supplication on his behalf of sixty-eight fellows of the university. And because he did not immediately depart from the place—remaining, or coming back to the university, to prosecute his appeal from the vice-chancellor's decision, agreeably to Lord Burleigh's advice—he was again cast into prison, December 18th, and was there “straitly kept,” part of the time in “a close and cold corner” of the Tolbooth, and none of his friends suffered to come nigh him, until wearied out, he consented to abandon his appeal and leave the university.*

After Mr. Johnson's departure from Cambridge, we lose sight of him until he is discovered in a meeting of the Brownists, in St. Nicholas Lane, where he was arrested a second time, and imprisoned in the Compter. Escaping from this imprisonment, how we are not told, he resorted again to his friends, the Brownists, was made the pastor of one of their churches, as above related, and after a few months, arrested a third time and imprisoned.† He was now subjected to repeated examinations before the archbishop and the ecclesiastical commissioners and the chief justice, Anderson;‡ and

* *Brook*, II. 90–95.

† *Ib.* II. 98.

‡ Lord Justice Anderson, here mentioned, and often in connec-

the usual attempts were made to ensnare him by crafty questions and make him his own accuser. Many of these questions he declined to answer. He admitted, however, that he had baptized a number of children belonging to his own congregation; that he did not account marriage a sacrament or an ecclesiastical service, or at all belonging to the ministerial function; that the Lord's supper might be received at any time of the day or night when the congregation were prepared for it; and that it was not necessary to use the very words of the Lord's prayer. He acknowledged, also, that he had persuaded others to join his congregation, and felt constrained to do that which God in his holy word required of him; and that he could not join in the ecclesiastical ministry and state of archbishops, bishops, parsons, vicars, etc., etc.*

These admissions were sufficient to doom the poor man to prolonged imprisonment. This he endured for fourteen months at least, before he was brought to trial on the statutes of 23 and 35 Elizabeth. He was then condemned as a traitor to his

tion with the examinations of the Separatists, was the Jeffreys of his age. A private letter written by a conforming clergyman of Alford, in Lincolnshire, in 1596, to "a person of quality, and preserved by *Strype*, thus describes his lordship: "This judge, with so much wrath, so many oaths, and such reproachful revilings on the bench, carrieth himself, that there is offence taken at it by persons of principal credit and note throughout all the circuits." — *Annals*, iv. No. 196, p. 368.

* *Brook*, ii. 98.

queen, for writing, speaking and acting in opposition to the lordly assumptions of the hierarchy, and was sentenced to perpetual banishment; the statute of 23 Elizabeth, on which Greenwood, Barrowe and Penry were executed, being now so changed (as already explained) as to make perpetual banishment, with confiscation of property, the punishment for this heinous crime against the State clergy and their Establishment.

This punishment he was compelled to endure to the letter, though he urged very strong and irrefragable arguments against being made amenable to the statute of 35 Elizabeth, for retaining the queen's subjects in their obedience; among which was the fact that he had been a close prisoner, for offences charged against him, a long time before the said statute was made.* But all was unavailing. The decree had gone forth. The Brownists were to be rooted out of the kingdom; and this learned and good man and loyal Englishman was compelled to abjure the realm, or linger and die in a filthy prison, or be hanged as a felon.

After the arrest of Mr. Johnson, his church continued its meetings for some three or four months, probably under the direction of the elders and deacons, aided by the more intelligent members.†

* *Brook*, II. 99-101.

† The Rev. William Smyth, and Rev. Thomas Little were probably members of the church at this time.—*Brook*, II. 45-48, 99, note; *Hanbury*, I. 245. Buck says, "George Johnson was

They were at length, however, discovered by the pursuivants, in a wood just beyond Islington,* in the very place where a part of Mr. Rough's congregation was arrested during the reign of queen Mary.† About fifty-six persons, men and women, were at this time seized and sent two and two to the different prisons in and around London. This seizure included both the elders and the deacons of the church, and probably the greater part of the active members; so that this church organization was thus effectually and speedily destroyed, for the time, by the persecuting prelates. ‡

Exactly how long these "men and women, young and old," and their companions in tribulation were kept "unbailably committed by the prelates or bishops of London," "lying in cold, in hunger, in dungeons, in irons," does not appear. But from their petitions, and that of their friends still at liberty, we learn that they were subjected to "miserable usage"; that some of them were "laden with as many irons as they could bear"; others were confined "among the most facinorous and vile persons," and others were "grievously beaten with cudgels," and thrown into a place called "Little Ease," for refusing to attend the prison chapel-ser-

reader there in the constable's house." — *Strype's Ann.*, iv. No. 115; *Hidden Church*, 123.

* See Examination of George Johnson, *supra*.

† See *ante*, vol. II. p. 346.

‡ *Strype's Ann.*, vol. iv. Nos. 61 and 62; *Brook*, II. 97, 98; *Hidden Church*, 75. See Appendix, Note E.

vice.* Whether or not they were ever arraigned for trial, we do not know — for men and women were often thus tormented for months, and even years, without trial — though it is probable that the leaders were. Mr. Studley, one of their elders, we know, from an incidental remark of Johnson, was “first adjudged to death and afterwards exiled.”† It is likely, however, that the majority of these prisoners “for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus Christ” were set free soon after the twentieth of May, 1593, on “abjuring the realm,” or consenting to banishment with confiscation of goods. But some of them certainly were detained for many months after that date. Both the brothers Johnson, continued to languish in prison as late as July, 1594, we know not how much longer;

* See their petition in *Strype's Annals*, iv. No. 61; *Hanbury*, 1. 88-90.

† Johnson's “Answer to Master H. Jacobs,” in *Hanbury*, 1. 102. This was not a solitary case. Gov. Bradford, in speaking of the sufferings of the Separatists about this time, says: “We know certainly of six that were publicly executed, besides such as died in prison;” and names Barrowe, Greenwood, Penry, William Dennis, Copping and Thacker. Further on he adds: “Though no more were publicly executed, yet sundry more were condemned, and brought to the gallows, and ascended the ladder, not knowing but they should die; and have been reprieved, and after banished; some of which we have known and often spoken with. Others have not only been forced into voluntary banishment, by great numbers, to avoid further cruelty, but divers, after long and vile imprisonment, have been forced to abjure the land by oath, never to return. In anno 1604, four persons at once were forced to do so at a public sessions in London, or else upon refusal they were to be hanged.” — In *Young's Chronicles*, 427 and 437.

"most unchristianly entreated"; one of them, at least, "kept sometimes two days and two nights together without any manner of sustenance; sometimes twenty nights together without any bedding save a straw mat; and as long without any change of linen; in the most dark and unwholesome rooms of the prison"; none of his friends being suffered to come to him.*

The continuance of this imprisonment and its cruelty were attributed mainly, and probably with good reason, to the prelates. Francis, in a private letter to Lord Burleigh, accompanied by a petition to the queen, which he begs Burleigh to put into her highness' hands — prays him not to show any of his letters to any one; for, he says, "I scarce know any person to whom your lordship can show them, that will not make relation of it to the prelate of Canterbury and other of our adversaries; who will the more, either continue my restraint in prison or hasten the end of my days in this life." †

* "The Humble Petition of John Johnson, for his two sons, Francis and George Johnson, having been close prisoners, the one [Francis] in the Clink, a year and a half, and the other in the Fleet sixteen months, only for their conscience in religion." — This petition was addressed to Lord Burleigh, and bears date, "1 July, 1594." — *Hidden Church*, 122-24.

† *Ib.* 118-20. The reader will remember that Penry and Barrowe entertained the same opinion of Whitgift, "the prelate of Canterbury." Barrowe charges him, directly, with intercepting petitions addressed to the queen. — See *ante*, pp. 84, 91.

And the conviction cannot well be avoided, that the treatment which the Johnsons and other Separatists experienced in prison was well adapted, if not expressly designed to wear out their lives.

When at length this weary and cruel imprisonment of Francis Johnson was ended, he found his way to Amsterdam, a common resort for the persecuted of all religious sects.* A considerable number of his church preceded or accompanied him; and there, in a "blind lane" of that amphibious city, famed for its narrow and irregular streets, was

And it was something more than a rhetorical flourish, for these persecuted and abused men to say to the council in one of their petitions: "Are we malefactors! Are we anywise undutiful to our prince? Maintain we any errors? Let us, then, be judicially convicted thereof and delivered to the civil authority. But let not these bloody men ['the prelates and bishops of London'] both accuse, condemn and close murder us after this sort, contrary to all law, equity, and conscience; where alone they are the plaintiff, the accusers, the judges, the executioners of their most fearful barbarous tyranny!" — *Hanbury*, i. 90.

* *Brook*, II. 101. *Waddington* says of Francis Johnson's escape from prison: "We have no distinct information respecting the judicial proceedings in his case; but we learn incidentally, that in the first instance he was banished to Newfoundland." — *Hidden Church*, 131. Mr. Waddington does not give his authority for this assertion; and I cannot find anything but the following, from Gov. Bradford's Dialogue, which looks like authority. In describing the "low and hard" condition of the banished Separatists in Amsterdam, he says: "And no marvel; for many of them had lain long in prisons, and then were banished into *Newfoundland*, where they were abused; and then came into the Low Countries; and wanting money, trades, friends or acquaintances, and languages to help themselves, how could it be otherwise." — *Young's Chronicles*, 441. What is meant by "Newfoundland" does not appear. "Her highness' faithful subjects, falsely called Brownists," petitioned for license "to pass peaceably into the province of *Canada*," about this time probably. But the "province of *Canada*," according to their geography, included a portion of "the Gulf of Mexico." — *New Eng. Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XIII. p. 259.

renewed the church organization, with the same officers as were selected in the house of "one Fox," in St. Nicholas Lane, London, September, 1591 or 1592.*

Their devoted pastor was again with them; weary and worn from long-continued and most cruel imprisonment; but unbroken in spirit, and with his faith unshaken in the principles for which he and they had suffered so much and so long. They were, to be sure, in a land of strangers; but it was a land of religious freedom, where they were no longer obliged to hide themselves in the woods and fields, or by stealth gather in private houses for the worship of God, at the hazard of property, liberty, and life itself. Their beloved teacher, Greenwood, had indeed paid the penalty of his life, for maintaining apostolical principles

* We find both of the original elders, Studley and Kniston, and one of the deacons, Bowman, connected with the reorganized church in Amsterdam. The other deacon's name, Mr. Lee's, does not appear in any of the printed documents that have come under my notice. *Brandt* gives the name of *Mercer*, in the place of Lee. — *Hist. Ref. in the Low Countries*, vol. i. p. 481, London, 1720; *Hanbury*, i. 91. *Brandt* refers to the arrival of these Separatists in Holland; but in a way which shows that he was not well informed on the subject: "About this time [A. D. 1599] or rather earlier, there was wafted over hither from England, a new sect of people, who being for reforming the Reformation, separated themselves from the rest of the reformed. These people being expelled by queen Elizabeth, and for their pretended purity being called puritans, or Brownists, from Robt. Brown, one of the first founders of this sect, fixed themselves mostly at Leyden and Amsterdam." — *Hist. Ref.*, i. 479.

of church government; but they had found a successor every way worthy of the martyred dead. Henry Ainsworth, "newly come out of Ireland with others poor," * had been chosen to fill the vacant office; a man of meek and gentle spirit, of fervent piety, profound learning, strong good sense, quick penetration, untiring diligence, and unconquerable energy.†

* *New Eng. Memorial*, 346.

† *Brook*, II.; *Hanbury*, I., 91, 98; *Bradford*, in his *Dialogue*, says of Ainsworth: "A very learned man he was, and a close student, which much impaired his health. We have heard some, eminent in the knowledge of the tongues, of the university of Leyden, say, that they thought he had not the better for the Hebrew tongue in the university, nor scarce in Europe. He was a man very amiable, modest and sociable in his ordinary course and carriage, of an innocent, unblamable life and conversation, of a meek spirit, and a calm temper, void of passion, and not easily provoked. And yet he would be sometimes smart to his opposers in his public writings. He had an excellent gift of teaching and opening the Scriptures; and things did flow from him with that facility, plainness, and sweetness, as did much affect his hearers," etc. — *Young's Chron.* 448.

Of Mr. Johnson it is said: "A very grave man he was, and an able teacher, and was the most solemn in all his administration that we have seen any, and especially in dispensing the seals of the covenant, both baptism and the Lord's supper. And a good disputant he was. We heard Mr. Smith, upon occasion, say, that he was persuaded no men living were able to maintain a cause against those two men — meaning Mr. Johnson and Mr. Ainsworth — if they had not the truth on their side." — *ib.* 445.

Johnson was much more excitable than Ainsworth, and not nearly so adroit a controversialist, and more likely to expose himself to a skilful opponent. Ainsworth was a very much more difficult man to meet. Quiet, self-poised, unpretending in manner, he turned with great adroitness the fiercest strokes of his

But, though now in a land of religious freedom, and no longer exposed to imprisonment and death for worshipping God according to the dictates of conscience, they were yet far removed from a pleasant land or state. They had been stripped of what little property they possessed in their native land, and driven out among a people of a strange tongue and stranger manners; and were environed with difficulties enough to appal the stoutest hearts. The Dutch government, acting on its politic principle of religious toleration, received the exiles with a measure of kindness, and allowed them to organize their church, and worship their God according to their conscientious convictions; but the Dutch clergy looked with an unfriendly eye on these religious refugees.* So much indeed did they suffer at first, as to ring from the patient, uncomplaining Ainsworth even, the lamentation, that they "were loaded with reproaches, despised and afflicted by all, and almost consumed with deep poverty."†

antagonist, and dealt him blows which were not only difficult to parry, but overwhelming in force. His *Counterpoison*, in which he meets the objections of Bernard, Crawshawe and others, and discusses the points of difference between the Churchmen and the Separatists, is a fine illustration of his simple, direct, pungent style, and of his unimpassioned, brief, sharp, pregnant answers to opponents.

* *Hanbury*, i. 83.

† *Neal*, ii. 69; *New Eng. Mem.*, 345. This learned and good man lived, sometimes, on "ninepence a week and some boiled roots," and supported himself by doing the work of a porter in a

The explanation of all this is found in the fact that the Separatists had been slandered, persecuted, imprisoned, starved, tormented, hanged, in England, as enemies of the State; because they opposed the lordly power of the bishops and rejected the hierarchal establishment on which the bishops' power rested. All this they had suffered, while continually declaring their belief in the doctrinal articles of the church of England, and their cordial loyalty towards the queen and her civil government, and praying for her with their dying breath. But the English ecclesiastics, not contented with driving these poor men into banishment, followed them with their slanders to the land of their exile, representing them to the Dutch government, as "factionous and schismatical persons," who had "cut themselves off from the communion of our church and thereupon departed out of the land." * In addition to this, the dissensions of Robert Browne and his followers at Middleburgh, some years previous—with whom these

bookstore. *Bradford* apologizes for this, by saying, that Mr. Ainsworth had "newly come out of Ireland with other poor, and being a single young man and very studious, was content with little;" and that "he was a very modest and bashful man, and concealed his wants from others, until some suspected how it was; and after it was known, such as were able, mended his condition; and when he was married afterwards, he and his family were comfortably provided for."

* See Archbishop Bancroft's letter to the English ambassador at Holland, Feb. 9th, 1605-6, in *Hanbury*, i. 166, from *Memorials of Sir Ralph Winwood*, vol. II. p. 196.

Separatists were everywhere confounded — probably increased the prejudice which they had to encounter. The celebrated Arminius, pastor of a church in Amsterdam, was one of their early opponents; and Francis Junius, Divinity Reader at Leyden University, also entered the lists against them; though he certainly had no occasion to be proud of his encounter with the despised Separatists of Amsterdam.* They were, as they say in their Confession, “hardly thought of by many, and evil spoken of by some who knew not, as it seemeth, either the true estate of the church of England, or the causes of our forsaking and separating from the same; but hearing ‘this sect,’ as they call it, to be ‘everywhere spoken against,’ (Acts 28 : 22) have, without all further search, accounted and divulged us as heretics, or schismatics at the least; yea, some, and such as worst might, have sought the increase of our afflictions even here also, if they could; which they have both secretly and openly attempted.” †

To counteract slanderous reports, and to justify their claim to the confidence of the Hollanders, the church at Amsterdam published, in 1596, “The Confession of Faith of certain English people, living in Low Countries, exiled.” ‡ In this work

* See a full account of this controversy in *Hanbury*, i. ch. 8.

† Preface to the Confession, p. 6, in the *Apologie of the Brownists*; *Hanbury*, i. 91.

‡ It appears to have been republished in 1598, 1603 and 1604; and is entitled an “*Apologie or Defence of Such True Christians as are*

they explain the state of things in the church of England which had forced them into a separation; avouch their allegiance to the civil authority, and define their doctrine and discipline. In this document, drawn up probably by Ainsworth and Johnson, the same general principles of church order and discipline are professed which were maintained by Barrowe and Greenwood and Perry, and which Clyfton and Robinson held, and all consistent Congregationalists to this day substantially hold. The confession is long and full; containing forty-five articles, covered by a perfect cloud of scriptural references.* The first sixteen articles contain their religious faith. This was thoroughly Calvinistic; and, as they declare, in accordance with that professed by all the Reformed Churches: "We testify by these presents unto all men, and desire them to take knowledge

Commonly (but unjustly) called Brownists," etc., etc. This Confession was presented, with the Petition of the Separatists, to James I., soon after his accession to the English throne, together with a Defence of their doctrine against the "imputations laid upon them by the heads and doctors of the university at Oxford." Small quarto, pp. 14 and 118. This work contains one of the very best, most compact and comprehensive exhibitions and defences of ancient Congregationalism anywhere to be found. A copy may be found in Harvard College Library, once the property of Henry Dunster, Jun. *Hanbury*, i. 91; *Justification of Separation*, in *Robinson's Works*, vol. ii. p. 50, note. Doc. Tract and Book Soc. ed. Boston, 1851.

* Four of the articles, taken at random, containing about forty lines, are supported by about half as many lines of references in figures.

hereof, that we have not forsaken any one point of the true ancient catholic and apostolic faith professed in our land; but hold the same grounds of Christian religion with them still; agreeing likewise herein, with the Dutch, Scottish, German, French, Helvetian and all other Christian reformed churches round about us, whose confessions published, we call to witness our agreement with them, in matters of greatest moment, being conferred with these articles of our faith following." Signed by "The Overseers, Deacons and Brethren of the English church at Amsterdam in the Low Countries, exiled for the truth of the Gospel of Christ." *

The remaining articles of the Confession relate more particularly to the polity, ordinances, officers, and practical duties of the church; its relation to civil magistrates, etc., and the duty of churches "to have the counsel and help of one of another in all needful affairs of the church." The 38th article reads thus: "And although the particular congregations be thus distinct and several bodies, every one as a compact and knit city in itself, yet are they all to walk by one and the same rule, and by all means convenient to have the counsel and help one of another in all needful affairs of the church, as members of one body in the common faith, under Christ, their only head." †

The Apology brings out also very distinctly the

* *Apologie*, Preface, pp. 7-8.

† *Confession*, p. 26.

Separatists' objections to what they term the "civil officers" and the office-work of the State clergy. Thus, one of their distinct propositions is, "That the ministers, lawfully called by the church where they are to administer, ought to continue in their functions according to God's ordinance, and carefully to feed the flock of Christ committed unto them; being not enjoined or suffered to bear civil offices withal, neither burdened with the execution of civil affairs, as the celebration of marriage, burying the dead, etc., which things belong as well to those without as within the church."

Robinson took substantially the same ground: "We cannot assent to the received opinion and practice answerable in the reformed churches, by which the pastors thereof do celebrate marriage publicly, and by virtue of their offices," etc.*

To add to the sufferings of the exiles, dissensions at length arose among themselves. The first occasion of these seems to have been a trifling affair — the marriage of their pastor with a wealthy and somewhat fashionable widow. To this marriage some of the relatives of Mr. Johnson objected; and finally raised a party in the church, and verified the observation of the apostle, "How great a matter a little fire kindleth!"† It resulted

* *Robinson's Works*, III. 4.

† *Bradford* gives this lady an excellent character: "In our time his [Johnson's] wife was a grave matron, and very modest, both in her apparel and all her demeanor, ready to any good works in her place, and helpful to many, especially the poor, and an orna-

in slander and abuse, and ended in excommunications. All this came nigh tearing the very church in pieces, to the extravagant joy of their adversaries and the great grief of such as loved the truth. The remark of John Robinson on the occasion — himself not personally concerned in the quarrel — deserves to be repeated: "It is to us just cause of humiliation all the days of our lives, that we have given and do give, by our differences, such advantages to them which seek occasion against us to blaspheme the Truth; though this may be a just judgment of God upon others which seek offences, that seeking they may find them to the hardening of their hearts in evil. But let men turn their eyes which way soever they will, they shall see the same scandals. Look to the first and best churches planted by the apostles themselves, and behold dissensions, scandal, strife, biting one another." * The retort of Ainsworth,

ment to his calling. She was a young widow when he married her, and had been a merchant's wife, by whom he had a good estate; and was a godly woman; and because she wore such apparel as she had been formerly used to, which were neither excessive nor immodest — for their chiefest exceptions were against her wearing some whalebone in the bodice and sleeves of her gown, corked shoes, and other such like things as the citizens of her rank then used to wear; and although, for offence sake, she and he were willing to reform the fashions of them, so far as might be without spoiling of the garments, yet it would not content them except they come full up to their size." — *Dialogue*, in *Young*, 446. See also *Robinson's Works*, II. 58.

* *Robinson's Works*, II. 59; *Hanbury*, I. 99.

upon such as made merchandise of the sins of this people, is characteristic of the man: "How pregnant your persuasions are, to make us believe that because there are sins in Sion, there be none in Babylon!" *

Several years afterwards differences arose in Mr. Johnson's church on the subject of church power. These were of a more serious character, and finally caused a division of the church; a considerable number, with Mr. Ainsworth, separating themselves from Mr. Johnson and forming a new church, about December 15th, 1610.† Johnson, and Studley one of the elders, held that the governmental power of the church was confined to the elders; while Ainsworth and others insisted, that it was in the whole church, including all the adult brethren and elders.‡

In the end, Johnson with his adherents, retired to Emden, in East Friesland. There he died; after which, according to Baylie, his "little company dissolved and vanished"; or, perhaps, undertook to emigrate to Virginia, and perished in the attempt.§

* *Hanbury*, I. 99.

† *Robinson's Works*, III. 465.

‡ *Hanbury*, I. 216-20; 240-50; *Robinson's Works*, III. 465-84.

§ *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time*, p. 16. Lond. 1645; *Brook*, II. 108. *Paget* reports that the two parties were known as Johnsonians and Ainsworthians; and that the former commenced a suit in Amsterdam, for the recovery of "their meeting house or synagogue, granted to the Brownists, after the rending of the conventicle [church] asunder." — *Heresiography*, 88. There is a blind

Mr. Ainsworth and his friends, remained in peace, so far as appears, to the time of his death, "about the close of the year 1622 or the beginning of 1623."* Brook says, that in the midst of all the unhappy controversies in which he was engaged, "Mr. Ainsworth preserved a meek and true Christian spirit"; and that he "was a man of great piety, uncommon erudition, and extraordinary abilities."† And the "*Biographia Britannica*" says: "It is not easy to produce an English writer oftener quoted, or with greater testimonies of his merit than are found bestowed on Dr. Ainsworth, and this by the learned of all countries, and at

allusion to "Mr. Johnson and his people at Emden," in Robt. Cushman's letter to the Leyden Church, dated May 8th, 1619; where, in speaking of Francis Blackwell's imposition on certain emigrants to Virginia, whom he had "packed together like her-ring" — Cushman says: "Such a stratageme he once made for Mr. Johnson and his people at Emden, which was their subversion." And *Bradford*, in speaking of Blackwell's connection with Johnson's church, when they "parted asunder [from the Amsterdam church] in that woful manner, which brought so great dishonor to God, scandal to the truth, and outward ruin to themselves in this world," says: "But I hope, notwithstanding, through the mercies of the Lord, their souls are now at rest with him in the heavens, and that they are arrived at the haven of happiness, though some of their bodies were thus buried in the terrible seas, and others sank under the burden of bitter afflictions." It is a fair inference, I think, that allusion is here made to some scheme of colonization, which Blackwell had drawn the Emden church into, and by it ruined them. — *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, pp. 37-9, Deane's ed.

* *Brook*, II. 302.

† *Ib.* 303.

considerable distance of time, and of all sects and opinions.*

At Mr. Ainsworth's death, he left two elders over his church, Mr. John Delacluse and Mr. May.† After awhile the learned, but somewhat erratic John Canne, best known as the author of the marginal references to the Bible, became connected with this church as pastor or teacher. How long this connection continued does not appear; though in 1634, we find Mr. Canne announcing himself, in a publication of that date, as "John Canne, Pastor of the ancient English church in Amsterdam."‡

It is a satisfaction to know, that after a time, the troubles of these poor saints of Amsterdam were removed; their disagreements hushed, and the

* Vol. I. p. 74.

† *Cotton's Way of the Congregational Churches Cleared*, p. 6.

‡ *Paget*, in his "Defence of Church Government," represents, that shortly after Canne's connection with the Amsterdam church, a schism occurred, and the church was divided between Mr. Delacluse and Mr. Canne. And the title of a sermon preached by Canne "upon the 15th day of the second month, 1632 [3] at the reconciliation of certain Brethren between whom there had been former differences," gives countenance to the supposition, that there was some temporary division in this church. — *Hanbury*, i. 516. *Baylie*, the great accuser of the Separatists, represents this church as "long without all officers" after Mr. Ainsworth's death, and as unable to choose Mr. Canne until "after much strife"; and as "even yet (in 1648) living without an eldership." — *Dissuasive*, p. 15. Part of this story is directly contradicted by *Cotton*, who says, "There be sundry living that know the contrary; for when he [Ainsworth] died, he left two elders over the church, Mr. Delacluse and Mr. May." — *U' sup.*

parties united in one body; that in 1645, they were living at peace, as one church; and that as late as 1671, there were "some remains" of the church still in Amsterdam.*

Another source of trouble to these poor Christians, arose from the slanders and falsehoods of false brethren, brought in unawares, who apostatized, and made their peace with the prelatists by maligning their former friends. Of one of these apostates, Thomas White, Robinson said: "Let himself remember his own saying heretofore, if he will regard no other: 'That a man that hath run away from his master will seldom give him a good name.'" And it is a valuable, though an undesigned testimony, which another of these apostates, Christopher Lawne, gives to the general steadfastness of the Separatists, when he says: "I am not without hope that some shall thereby [i. e. by reading his description of the Brownists] be stayed from undertaking that hard and dangerous voyage of 'Separation,' from which *so few* have ever returned to communion with the churches of Christ" — i. e. to the semi-popish congregations of the church of England.†

The reader will easily believe, after what has been said, that the course of the Separatists in Holland was anything but smooth and pleasant for the first ten or fifteen years. They had the prejudices of the

* Baylie, p. 77; *Brant's Hist. Ref.*, i. 481.

† *Hanbury*, i. 100.

- Dutch to soften and remove; which they attempted by the publication of their Confession; they had their own differences to discuss and settle; they had the libels of such men as the apostates, White, and Lawne, and Fairlambe, to answer; which, though not a difficult, was yet a vexatious task. The puritans set on their champions too; as Jacob, and the learned but supercilious and self-important Broughton; and their writings required labored replies.* The prelates, through their caustic and "pragmatical" advocate, Hall, attacked them, and furnished work for their ablest writers; and Smyth, one of their former ministers, becoming an Arminian-Baptist, drew them into that controversy also. These several opponents and occasions for controversy — not to name others — made the lives of the Separatists but little less tolerable in Holland than they had been in the prisons of England. Nevertheless, they stood erect, and contended manfully for what they believed to be the truth as it is in Christ. And he who reads with care their various controversial treatises will not fail to learn, that among the leaders of the Separation were men of deep learning, great acuteness, and profound acquaintance with the Word of God, in its original, as well as in its English dress. They understood what they said and whereof they affirmed. They could "render a reason" for their

* See some remarks on the Antagonism of the Puritans and Separatists, Appendix, Note F.

faith and practice, and were to be feared rather than despised by an opponent. On many subjects, they have left but little that is new to be said by their modern followers. These were the men, who, deemed unfit to live in England, were driven out into a land of strangers, and there laid the foundations of Congregational churches, which became large and prosperous ; and then furnished the men to relay the foundations of Congregationalism in their native land, and to plant the system in this new world.

Bradford, in describing these churches, says : " Truly there were in them many worthy men ; and if you had seen them in their beauty and order, as we have done, you would have been much affected therewith, we dare say. At Amsterdam, before their division and breach, they were about three hundred communicants ; and they had for their pastor and teacher those two eminent men before named [Francis Johnson and Henry Ainsworth], and in our time four grave men for ruling elders, and three able and godly men for deacons, one ancient widow for a deaconess, who did them service many years, though she was sixty years of age when she was chosen. She honored her place and was an ornament to the congregation. She did frequently visit the sick and weak, especially women, and, as there was need, called maids and young women to watch and do them other helps as their necessity did require ; and if they were poor, she would gather relief for them of

those that were able, or acquaint the deacons ; and she was obeyed as a mother in Israel and an officer of Christ.” *

Hugh Bromhead, in a letter to his cousin William Hamerton, London, written from Amsterdam, about 1606, describes the “ order and government ” of Mr. Smyth’s church as follows: “ 1. We begin with prayer ; after, read some one or two chapters of the Bible, give the sense thereof, and confer upon the same ; that done, we lay aside our books and after a solemn prayer made by the first speaker, he propoundeth some text out of the Scripture, and prophesieth out of the same by the space of one hour or three quarters of an hour. After him standeth up a second speaker, and prophesieth out of the said text, the like time and place, sometime more sometime less. After him the third, the fourth, the fifth, etc., as the time will give leave. Then the first speaker concludeth with prayer, as he began with prayer, with an exhortation to contribution to the poor, which collection being made, is also concluded with prayer. This morning exercise begins at eight of the clock, and continueth unto twelve of the clock. The like course and exercise is observed in the afternoon, from two of the clock unto five or six of the clock. Last of all the execution of the government of the church is handled.” †

* *Young’s Chronicles*, 455.

† *Hunter’s Collection*, App., p. 172.

This probably was, for substance, the order and course of all the earliest Congregational churches. Mr. Robinson distinctly advocates the propriety of attending to church business at the close of service, on the Lord's day.*

* *Works*, II. 241.

CHAPTER IX.

DECLINE AND DEATH OF ELIZABETH, MARCH 24, 1602-3.—
HER TREATMENT OF THE SEPARATISTS.—LORD BUE-
LEIGH'S DEATH AND CHARACTER, AUGUST 4, 1598.

CONTEMPORANEOUS with some of the events recorded in the preceding chapter, there were important changes transpiring in England. As the age and growing infirmities of Elizabeth warned men of her approaching dissolution, the court paid to her, and even the ordinary respect reasonably expected by her from her pretended friends and courtiers, began sensibly to diminish, much to her grief and mortification. Through her whole reign she had endeavored to guard against this, by resolutely refusing to name her successor. But all her precautions could not prevent her courtiers and subjects from turning their thoughts from the fading queen to her presumptive Scottish heir.

One effect of this state of things, in which every good man must rejoice, was, to abate the violence of the prelates towards the dissenters. Their ecclesiastical lordships were not without fearful misgivings when they turned their eyes towards presbyterian Scotland, from whence their new king would doubtless come; and like prudent men, foreseeing

the evil, they began to hide themselves. It was the archbishop's injunctions, requiring subscription to all the articles of the establishment, rather than the act of parliament, which required subscription to "the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the sacraments" only, which distressed the puritans; and it was, therefore, entirely within the power of the archbishop and his fellow prelates to allay persecution, by ceasing to enforce subscription and obedience to the archiepiscopal injunctions.

While affairs were in this posture, Elizabeth was smitten with her last illness. A feverish restlessness deprived her of sleep; a morbid melancholy ensued; light became offensive to her; respiration difficult and convulsive; she loathed food, and utterly rejected all medicine; yet she refused, until near the very close of her days, to go to bed, fearing if she laid down that she should never rise again; but sat on a stool, or reclined upon the floor supported by cushions, "holding her finger almost continually in her mouth, with her eyes open and fixed upon the ground." She at length became speechless; and after about three weeks of this melancholy illness and suffering, the great queen expired, on the 24th of March, 1602-3, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth year of her eventful reign.* Such was the sad end of queen Elizabeth, the last of the Tudor race.

With her character as a sovereign, or her public

* See Appendix, Note G.

acts generally, we care not to meddle. All the standard historians of England have discussed these abundantly. But with her relations to the puritans, and especially the Congregationalists of different names, we are specially concerned. That she was a learned, wise, politic princess, under whose sway the general interests of the kingdom were greatly advanced, no one need question. That she sought the general welfare of her subjects, and had a special desire to be loved by them, no one can doubt who carefully studies her history. Why, then, was she so unjust, so merciless towards the puritans, and especially the Separatists? Even Burleigh, whose counsel she is said to have sought in all great matters, seems to have been well-nigh powerless here.

The only satisfactory answer that can be given, is, that Elizabeth did not — perhaps would not — understand the true position of these nonconformists towards her person and her government. She knew that the Separatists, particularly, denounced the lordly power of the bishops, and utterly refused conformity to her religious establishment. This she regarded as open rebellion against her sovereignty. And if there was one point on which she was jealous and inexorable above any other, it was this, the recognition of her absolute sovereignty in Church and State. Her State sovereignty the Separatists cheerfully and heartily acknowledged. But beyond this, they could not go, without denying the sovereignty of their Lord and

Master, the great Head of the Church. This she could not understand.— Why pretend conscientious scruples? She did not believe in anything of the kind. She never had any. In her sister's day, she had conformed to the Romish establishment; but since she had become a queen, it had seemed advisable, for State reasons, to renounce that establishment, and she had done so. Why could not they do the same? She did not ask them to believe in her church as *jure divino*. She only demanded outward conformity to it. They might think and believe what they pleased, if they would go to church and observe the rites and ceremonies instituted. And, for men to refuse to do this, was, in her judgment, equivalent to open rebellion against her sovereignty; and such men deserved to be hanged.

The bishops, Whitgift, Aylmer, and Bancroft, especially, did all they could to strengthen the queen in her prejudices against the nonconformists, and to prevent any access to her which would be likely to disabuse her of these prejudices. She was encouraged to believe, that their opposition to the bishops was only a covert mode of attacking the crown; and that men who advocated equality in the ministry and liberty in the churches could not be loyal subjects of a queen. It was by such reasoning that she and her bishops nullified the repeated and earnest protestations of loyalty to the government, and affectionate regard for the person of the queen, made by the Separatists; and

drowned the voice of their dying supplications to Almighty God, for her majesty and her council, and for her long and prosperous reign.

This certainly was the view which the leading Separatists took of the matter; and they were not likely to be deceived. They uniformly charged their unjust sufferings on the bishops, especially Whitgift, the archbishop of Canterbury. They always insisted, that if the queen could know exactly the merits of the question between them and the bishops, she would interpose and save them. They never uttered a harsh or disloyal word against the queen, but earnestly sought to get their cases fairly before her; assured that she would then do them justice. The history of Barrowe and Greenwood, of Penry and Johnson, affords ample illustration of this position, and furnishes the only satisfactory explanation of the queen's cruel and unjustifiable treatment of the poor Separatists. And the fact that these men were all tried for treason, and not for their religion, is a confirmation of the view which has now been taken, and shows that the bishops — whom the Separatists called their only enemies — did not dare to bring these innocent men into mortal danger on the charge of their nonconformity merely.

But after all this violent perverting of justice against the nonconformists, what was accomplished? "The church of England was not left by Elizabeth in circumstances which demand applause for the policy of her rulers. After forty years of

constantly aggravated molestation of the noneon-forming clergy, their numbers were become greater, and their popularity more deeply rooted, their enmity to the established church more irreconcilable." *

Throughout her long reign, and notwithstanding her repeated and dangerous illnesses, Elizabeth had perseveringly, and even angrily resisted all the efforts of her council and of her parliaments to induce her to designate her successor; influenced, probably, by both personal and political considerations. She loved power; and she loved, almost as well, personal attentions and flattery; some measure of both of which she would have hazarded by naming her successor, if indeed her mind was ever settled on that question. It was not until almost the last hours of her life had arrived, and her case had become hopeless, and she felt that her sands had all but run out, that she consented to make known to her council her wishes respecting a successor. There has, indeed, been much discussion, and many doubts have been expressed as to what Elizabeth actually did and said on her death-bed, about this matter. But the representations of the learned and accurate Camden, himself a contemporary of Elizabeth, may safely be taken as substantially the truth. He says: "About this time, the Lord Admiral having acquainted the rest of the council with what the queen had told him in

* *Hallam's Const. Hist. Eng.*, 1. 225.

private, when she went last from Westminster, in relation to her successor, they all thought it convenient that himself, with the Lord Treasurer and Secretary, should wait upon her majesty and acquaint her that they were come in the name of the rest, to learn her pleasure in reference to the succession. The queen answered with a faint voice, that she had always declared, that as she had held a regal sceptre, so she desired no other than a royal successor. And the Secretary requesting her to explain herself; 'I would (quoth she) have a king succeed me, and who should that be but my nearest kinsman, the king of Scots?'"*

This account, though quite unlike, is not necessarily contradictory of Cary's.† They may describe — they probably do — two different interviews which the council had with the dying queen. But, however it may have been with Elizabeth's dying instructions to her council — whether she gave any or not, and if any, what — certain it is, that the council proclaimed James VI. of Scotland, king of Great Britain, immediately on the death of the queen.

The accession of James had indeed been for some time regarded as a settled point; and the courtiers and time-servers about Elizabeth had been diligently preparing for the anticipated change. Camden tells us that "some of the court nobility (not

* In *Kennett's Hist. of England*, vol. II. p. 658.

† See Appendix, Note G.

to mention the ladies) most unhandsomely forsook Elizabeth, when they had the least reason to have done it;" and wrung from the sick and dying queen the complaint: "They have now got me in a yoke! I have nobody left me that I can trust! My condition is the perfect reverse of what it was!" And when the helpless and hopeless condition of the queen was perceived, we are told that it was "hardly credible with how froward a zeal all ranks and conditions of men — puritans, papists and others — hasted away, at all times and hours, by sea and land, into Scotland, to pay their adorations to the rising sun, the young king."*

It was this heartless abandonment of her by courtiers and pretended friends, together with the death of the Earl of Essex, for whom she cherished almost a mother's love, added to the violence of her disease, which produced the morbid melancholy which shrouded the last days of the great queen of England.†

* In *Kennet's Hist. Eng.*, II. 652-53.

According to Sir John Harington's account, Cary, with all his professions of love to Elizabeth, was the first to reach Scotland with the intelligence of the queen's death, and to secure a reward from her successor. — *Nugæ Antiquæ*, I. 337. And even Sir John himself, godson of the queen though he was, sought to win the royal pedant's favor before her death, by sending him, as a New Year's present, a wonderful dark lantern, made of four metals — gold, silver, brass and steel — curiously wrought — and containing significant inscriptions. — *Nugæ*, I. 325.

† Mrs. Hutchinson doubtless gives the current belief of the puritans of that day, when she says of James, that "by bribes and

Elizabeth's greatest statesman and most trusted and confidential adviser, William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, had preceded her, by a few years, into the spirit world. He died August 4th, 1598, at the advanced age of 78 years. "As to his end, it was conformable to his life, easy, natural, in the midst of his family, full of years as of glory." For forty years he had served his royal mistress with an honest, earnest zeal, a self-sacrificing, unswerving fidelity and ability, which had greatly endeared him even to her capricious heart. On the first day of her accession to the throne, she called on Cecil for advice, and her first appointment made him Secretary of State, a position which he had held under her brother Edward. After twelve years of faithful service, she raised him to the peerage, as Baron Burleigh. In 1572 she made him Lord High

greater promises, he managed a faction in the court of the declining queen, which prevailed on her dotage to destroy the earl of Essex, the only person who would have had the courage to keep out him they thought it dangerous to let in." — *Mems. Col. Hutchinson*, p. 76. Bohn's edition.

Sir John Harington gives a vivid picture of the queen's wrath against Essex, at his sudden return from his ill-managed expedition in Ireland: "When I did come into her presence she chafed much, walked fastly to and fro, looked with discomposure in her visage; and I remember she caught my girdle when I kneeled to her, and swore, 'By God's Son, I am no queen: that *man* is above me! Who gave him command to come here so soon? I did send him on other business.'" — *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. 1. p. 355. Harington was an officer in the Irish expedition, and a confidential friend of Essex, who sent him to smooth his way to the queen.

Treasurer, the highest office in the State; and in this office retained him to the day of his death, though he repeatedly solicited permission to resign the responsible and difficult trust. When he was called away, she wept tears of sincere sorrow, separating herself from all company for a time; and for years afterwards always speaking of him with tears. Though a moderate, Burleigh was a steady friend of the puritans, and even of the hated Separatists. The latter trusted him as they did no other courtier, and confided petitions to his hands which they dared not commit to any other man about the queen;* and he interposed for them at many different times, as we know, and doubtless at many other times, of which we have no record. And though he did not shield them effectually from the persecuting zeal of the bishops and the ignorant wrath of his royal mistress — and probably could not — yet it is no small compliment to this great man, that he retained the confidence of the suffering Separatists to the end of his life.

Burleigh's letter to archbishop Whitgift, dated July 15th, 1584, in relation to his persecuting measures against the puritans, and particularly about the twenty-four articles which the archbishop had prepared for the use of the high commissioners, in their inquisitorial examinations of the nonconformists — presents a very fair view of his opinions on these points, and deserves to be given entire: "I

* See Francis Johnson's letter to Burleigh, *ante*, p. 218.

am sorry," he says, "to trouble you so often as I do, but I am more troubled myself, not only with many private petitions of sundry ministers, recommended for persons of credit, and peaceable in their ministry, who are greatly troubled by your grace and your colleagues in commission; but I am also daily charged by councillors and public persons, with neglect of my duty, in not staying your grace's vehement proceedings against ministers, whereby papists are greatly encouraged and the queen's safety endangered.

"I have read over your twenty-four articles, found in a Romish style, of great length and curiosity, to examine all manner of ministers in this time, without distinction of persons, to be executed *ex officio mero*. And I find them so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, that I think the Inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their priests. I know your canonists can defend these with all their particles; but surely, under correction, this judicial and canonical sifting poor ministers is not to edify or reform. And in charity I think they ought not to answer to all these nice points, except they were notorious papists or heretics.

"I write with the testimony of a good conscience. I desire the peace and unity of the church. I favor no sensual and wilful recusant; but I conclude, according to my simple judgment, this kind of proceeding is too much savoring of the Romish Inquisition, and is a device rather to seek for offenders

than to reform any. It is not charitable to send men to your common Register, to answer upon so many articles at one instant, without a copy of the articles, or their answers. I pray your grace this one (perchance) fault, that I have willed the ministers not to answer these articles except their consciences may suffer them." *

Naturally slow and cautious, Burleigh's position rendered him doubly careful. Envied and hated by the old nobility, because of the honors and distinctions conferred on him by the queen; surrounded by enemies, who were ever ready to take advantage of any mistake which he might make, and who repeatedly plotted his ruin—it became him to walk cautiously. And being often almost alone in his moderate views among the councillors of State, we may readily believe what he once told a puritan divine, who sought his aid to carry forward church reform: that though he thought well of it himself, yet he could not do the good he would, or that others thought he could.†

* *Neal's Puritans*, i. 416–19.

† Burleigh's domestic biographer tells us, that a plan was laid by the lords, as early as 1560, to cut him off. He was called before the council without the queen's knowledge, and it was resolved to send him to the Tower; hoping when they had once got him there, to be able to destroy him. But the queen, on learning what was doing, interposed and saved him. "So the fire was covered, but not quenched."—*Compleat Statesman*, p. 12. In 1568–69, another plot was formed to ruin him. The duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Winchester, the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Arundel, Pembroke, Leicester and others, were in it; and their plan was, to get him into the Tower, if possible.—

His continued battle with the enemies of his queen — foreign and domestic; the chicanery and dishonesty which he everywhere encountered; the grievous wrongs which he was compelled to see even good and innocent men suffer; the loss of his beloved wife; and his trouble with the fiery Essex; combined to make him, at length, weary of this life, and turned his thoughts towards a better. And though loaded with all the honors of this world, blessed with an ample fortune, and surrounded by an affectionate family, his biographer tells us, that “he contemned this life and expected the next;” and when the last loud warning of approaching dissolution overtook him, in the form of “a convulsion, like to the shaking of an ague,” he cried out joyfully, “Now, the Lord be praised, the time is come! And calling his children, blessed them, took his leave of them, commanding them to serve God and love one another.” Among his last words were: “Come Lord Jesu! One drop of death, Lord Jesu! Lord receive my spirit! Lord, have mercy on me!”* So died William Cecil, Lord Burleigh.

Ib. 12, 13. Repeated attempts were also made to take him off by assassination; but the good providence of God, and the steady friendship of the queen, saved him, even as Cranmer was saved from his enemies during Henry's reign.

* *The Compleat Statesman*, in *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. 1. pp. 40, 41; *Nares' Memoirs of the Life, Administration, etc. of Wm. Cecil, Lord Burghley*, three vols. quarto, Lond. 1828, contains a very full account of Burleigh and his times, though not altogether impartial towards the puritans and nonconformists.

Nares says that his lordship spelled his name *Burghley*. I have not written it thus, for the other method had become so familiar to me before meeting with this statement, that I could not easily change; and besides, good usage seems to sanction the style I have adopted. — See Brook, Hume, Neal, and Allibone. Sir John Harington, a contemporary, friend and correspondent, uniformly writes *Burleigh*. See *Nugæ Antiquæ*, *passim*.

CHAPTER X.

ACCESSION OF JAMES I., 1603. — THE MILLENARY PETITION.

— PETITIONS OF THE SEPARATISTS. — HAMPTON COURT
CONFERENCE. — PROCLAMATION OF THE KING, AND THE
CANONS OF THE CONVOCATION AGAINST NONCONFORM-
ISTS.

JAMES VI. of Scotland, the son of the unfortunate, if not criminal Mary, queen of Scots, had an unquestioned right to the throne of England, as her heir and successor, and took possession of it without opposition, March 24th, 1602-3; assuming the title of James I. With him began the Stuart dynasty in England * — a curse entailed for nearly a century.

* Though James' title to the English throne was *unquestioned*, it was by no means *unquestionable*. The claim of the house of Suffolk, according to *Hallam*, "was legally indisputable, if we admit the testament of Henry VIII. to have been duly executed." No less than fourteen titles to the English crown were "idly or mischievously reckoned up," during Elizabeth's lifetime; "considerations of public interest, however, unequivocally pleaded for the Scottish line; the extinction of long sanguinary feuds, and the consolidation of the British empire." — *Const. Hist. Eng.*, vol. i. 285-94. The elevation of James was no doubt popular at first with the English people, who had become somewhat wearied of Elizabeth's long, capricious, and arbitrary reign; but, if we may
(250)

All parties had hopes and fears of the new king.* His mother had lived and died a papist, and was counted as a martyr to that faith. James had been baptized into the same faith, and was pleased to call the church of Rome his "mother church." But James had been educated among the presbyterians; had openly and repeatedly professed his attachment to the church of Scotland, as "the sincerest kirk in the world"; had twice subscribed and sworn to the presbyterian confession of faith, and had publicly "praised God that he was born to be king of such a church;" declaring, at the same time, that the service of the church of England, was "an evil-said mass in English, wanting nothing of the mass but the liftings."† These circum-

believe *Carte*, "by the time he reached London, the admiration of the intelligent world was turned into contempt." — *Hist. Eng.*, vol. III. p. 711. *Mr. Hallam* furnishes a number of examples of the king's folly and ill-manners during the journey from Edinburgh to London. — *Ib.* 295-96. And before a year had ended, "libels were already in circulation, reflecting with a sharpness never before known, on the king's personal behaviour." — *Ib.* 298.

* "The formalists, the papists, and the sincere professors had all their own hopes." — *Calderwood*, vol. VI. p. 220.

† *Calderwood*, vol. V. p. 106; *Prince*, 105; *Harris*, II. 80.

Calderwood thus describes James' speech in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in 1590: "In end, to please the assembly, he fell forth in praising God, that he was born in such a time as the time of the light of the gospel, to such a place as to be king in such a kirk, the sincerest kirk in the world. 'The kirk of Geneva,' said he, 'keepeth pasche and yule [Easter and Christmas]. What have they for them? They have no institution [no Scriptural authority]. As for our neighbor kirk of England, it is an evil-said mass in English, wanting nothing but the liftings [the elevation of the host, for the worship of the same].

stances filled the puritans with high hopes. The episcopalians relied mainly on their easy access to the throne, and their possession of the ground, as the established church of the kingdom. They counted, too, on their ability to persuade the vain, pedantic, arbitrary king, that the episcopal establishment was the mainstay of his throne, and that "no bishop, no king" were convertible terms. Whitgift had been very anxious in view of the approaching "Scotch mist"; but had become somewhat less so, by reason of the report of his messenger, whom he had sent post haste to Scotland on the death of the queen, to assure his majesty of the unfeigned loyalty of himself and his clergy; to ask his commands, and to recommend the church of England to his royal favor. The king had assured the messenger, Dr. Nevil, dean of Westminster, that he would uphold the church as the queen had left it. But, knowing James' antecedents, the archbishop's hopes were doubtless mingled with many fears; for the puritans, too, had sent messengers to the king, and were taking great pains to prepossess his mind in their favor.*

I charge you my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; And I, forsooth, so long as I brique [retain] my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all,' etc." — *Hist. Kirk of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 106. Wodrow Soc. ed.

* Fuller says that both the great parties, Episcopal and Puritans, took great pains to prepossess James' mind; that three persons of quality, at least, were sent by the puritans, or went, to James, riding incredibly swift, to bring the good news of Eliza-

James started on his journey to London, April 5th, 1603. On his way, he was presented with a petition, signed by about seven hundred and fifty puritan ministers connected with the church of England, praying for a reformation of certain ceremonies and abuses of the church; but declaring that they approached "neither as factious men, affecting a popular parity in the church, nor as schismatics, aiming at the dissolution of the state ecclesiastical;" but as faithful ministers of Christ, who "groaned under the burden of human rites and ceremonies." This was the famous "Millenary Petition"; so called from the declaration in the preamble, that it was subscribed to by "more than *a thousand* ministers"; or, as Fuller says, "as one of a thousand; though, indeed, there were but seven hundred and fifty preachers' hands set thereunto; but those all collected out of five and twenty counties. However, for the rotundity of the number and grace of the matter, it passed for a full thousand; which, no doubt, the collectors of the names (if so pleased) might easily have completed."*

Among others who approached the new king were some of the leading Separatists. We know

beth's death; and that both parties made, besides private and particular addresses, public and visible applications to James, and were incessantly diligent, both before and after the queen's death. — *Chh. Hist.*, bk. x. sect. 13.

* *Chh. Hist.*, *ut sup.*, sects. 14-17; *Collier*, vii. 274; *Neal*, ii. 30-32.

not how many, nor the names of any, for the fact is only alluded to incidentally; but we conjecture, that Henry Ainsworth was the leader of the delegation which waited on his majesty, and were allowed at least one personal interview with him. This, however, was of a character to encourage their hopes, and to induce them to offer several petitions for toleration. This we infer from the language of Ainsworth and Johnson in their dedication to James, of their *Apology*, published in 1604. In this they say: "Heretofore, when it pleased your majesty to have speech with some of us touching this cause, amongst other things, your majesty uttered this worthy saying — 'That you were willing to take knowledge of any truth of God, for you had a soul and body to save as other men; and that whosoever differ [ed] in religion, must be careful always to have warrant of the word of God and antiquity.'"^{*}

Encouraged by the treatment which they at first received from the king, and influenced by the advice of some honorable personages who took an interest in their suit, the Separatists remained sometime in attendance on the court, and presented no less than four different petitions to James; all of them loyal and respectful, but manly and honest; openly avowing their dislike of the English hierarchy, and their love for a simpler and more

^{*} *An Apologie or Defence of Such True Christians as are commonly (but unjustly) called Brownists. Dedicated to the High and Mighty Prince, King James, our Sovereign Lord. 1604.*

apostolic system of church government; yet, declaring their belief in the doctrinal articles of the English church; and asking simply the privilege of living peaceably in their own country, in the enjoyment of their Christian rights.

In their first petition, after alluding to the early declension and the final antichristian apostasy of the church, and to the command of God, "Go out of her my people, that ye partake not in her sins," etc., they say: "For which cause, we, your majesty's humble and faithful subjects, have always been careful (howsoever we be traduced) both to acknowledge the true doctrines of the gospel professed by the church of England, and to forsake the antichristian hierarchy, form of worship, and confusion of all sorts of people in the body of that church, which yet do there remain commingled with the other good things. * * * If anywhere we err (and who liveth here on earth not subject to error?) our humble and earnest desire hath alway been, and yet is, that the errors may be showed by the word of God, promising through his grace then willingly to yield. Otherwise, dare we not leave this faith; neither we trust will your majesty require it of us; lest we should deny Christ our Lord, in whom as we believe, so do we speak and so must we confess the truth of his gospel, to the salvation of our souls. In further testimony whereof, we are also willing and ready to subscribe to those grounds of religion published in the confession of faith made by the church of Scotland;

hoping in the unity of the same faith to be saved by Jesus Christ. Being also like minded for and with all other reformed churches in points of greatest moment. And on the contrary, for Anabaptists, Familists, and all other heretics, new and old, we utterly reject them, with all their errors and heresies.

“ May it therefore please your majesty to take knowledge of this cause of Christ, witnessed by us, his unworthy servants, in long and manifold affliction, sustained at the hands, and by means of the prelates; that now, by your royal authority, and for the love you bear unto Christ, the truth of his gospel, and we which seek the sincere practice thereof, may be suffered in peace, under your majesty’s government, within your dominions (which we had rather, than under any other wheresoever); and not be urged to the use or approbation of any remnants of popery and human traditions; but permitted peaceably to walk in the faith of the gospel, according to the Testament of Christ; we carrying ourselves in all loyalty, peace and godliness, as becometh all faithful subjects in the Lord; whom we pray to establish your throne in peace, with much blessing, as he did to the good kings of Judah, who (rejecting all commixtures in God’s faith and worship) were careful to admit of no religion, nor anything in religion, but that only which was warranted by the word of God.” *

This petition was accompanied by their Confes-

* *Apologie, ut sup.*

sion of Faith in Latin, prepared doubtless, by Henry Ainsworth and Francis Johnson, of the Amsterdam Separatist church.

This first petition to royalty not receiving any answer, so far as appears, the Separatists presented a second, endorsed: "The Humble Supplication of sundry, your Majesty's faithful subjects, who have now a long time been constrained either to live as exiles abroad, or to endure other grievous persecutions at home, for bearing witness of the truth of Christ, against the corruptions of Antichrist yet remaining."

Addressing "the king's most Excellent Majesty," they say: "The great hope which your majesty, sundry ways, hath given, of much good to be done through the mercy of God, by your means in the Church and Commonwealth, hath encouraged us, in all dutiful manner, to become instant suitors to your highness, in the cause of Christ, and that [of] his poor church and people; whereof some be constrained to live as exiles in foreign lands abroad, and both they, heretofore, and others still in our own country, have many other ways, a long time, sustained great persecution at home — albeit our faith and practice, for which we suffer these things, be no other (to our knowledge) than that wherein the Apostles first planted the primitive churches, and have left recorded for a rule to all posterity, as appeareth by the Confession of our Faith already exhibited to your majesty; Wherein, although the truth of our cause be particularly specified, yet,

because in it also are contained (as in such a treatise was meet) other doctrines of the Christian faith, wherein we agree with the church of England; and to the end your majesty might have the very points between them and us noted down, apart by themselves, we thought it good and behooveful to reduce them to these few and particular heads, here ensuing, wherein we take the difference between us to consist. Which also we do in all humble manner offer to your majesty's godly and wise consideration, according to the Scriptures, which God hath given to be the light of our feet in the darkness of this world."

The points of difference between the Separatists and the church of England, are then briefly but distinctly drawn out in fourteen particulars, in substance, as follows: 1, "That Christ the Lord, hath by his last Testament given to his church, and set therein, sufficient ordinary officers, with the manner of calling or entrance, works and maintenance, for the administration of his holy things, and for the sufficient ordinary instruction, guidance and service of his church, to the end of the world. 2, 'That every particular church hath like and full interest and power to enjoy and practice all the ordinances of Christ given by him to his church, to be observed therein perpetually. 3, That every true visible church is a company of people called and separated from the world by the word of God, and joined together by voluntary profession of the faith of Christ, in the fellowship of the gospel."

4, That other than ministers may preach the gospel, and convert men, and prepare them to unite in church fellowship. 5, That every such church hath power in Christ, to choose its own officers — pastors, teachers, elders, deacons and helpers — independently of popes, archbishops, bishops, suffragans, deans, archdeacons, chancellors, pastors, vicars, priests, dumb ministers, etc. 6, That ministers ought to confine themselves to their spiritual duties, and not be burdened with civil affairs, as the celebration of marriage, burying the dead, etc. 7, That the maintenance of these church officers should be by free and voluntary contributions of the church. 8, That all particular churches should be so constituted that the whole body of every church may meet together in one place, and jointly perform their duties to God and one another, including the admonition and excommunication of its members. 9, That the church be not governed by popish canons, courts, classes, customs, or any human inventions; but by the laws and rules which Christ hath appointed in his Testament; that only the canonized Scriptures be used in the church; and that no liturgy, framed by men, be imposed on the church. 10, That the sacraments, being seals of God's covenant, be administered only to the faithful; and baptism, to their seed, and to those under their government, and that without popish or other abuses. 11, That the church be not urged to the observation of days and times, Jewish or Popish, save only to sanctify

the Lord's day. Neither be ladened in things indifferent, with rites and ceremonies, invented by men. 12, That all monuments of idolatry, in garments or any other things, ought, by lawful authority, to be razed and abolished. 13, That popish degrees in theology; enforcement to single life in colleges; abuse of the study of profane heathen writers, with other like corruptions in schools and academies, should be removed and redressed, so that they may be well-springs and nurseries of true learning and godliness. 14, "Finally, that all churches and people (without exception) are bound in religion, only to receive and submit unto that constitution, ministry, worship, and order, which Christ, as Lord and King, hath appointed unto his church; and not to any other devised by men, whatsoever."

The above are given as the prominent points on which the Separatist churches differed from the church of England. The supplication then concludes thus: "Our humble suit therefore is, that the ancient and only true way of Christ being revived, we, his unworthy witnesses thereof, your majesty's loyal subjects, may, by your sovereign authority, be protected, so as we may be suffered peaceably to walk in that faith and ordinance of Christ, which he, in his Testament, hath bequeathed and enjoined his Church, with strait charge, to keep, without spot, and unrebukable, unto the day of his appearing."

For some reason, which can only be conjectured,

a third petition, and one more full and particular than either of the others, was deemed necessary, or was required by his majesty. In this they say: "We have heretofore presented unto your majesty the Confession of our Faith, also the sum and particular heads of the difference between the church of England and us. And now, that your majesty may better discern upon what foundation our faith is builded, and in your highness' wisdom determine concerning our humble suit — for our return out of exile, release out of bonds, and permission to live in peace within your majesty's dominions — we, being come to attend your majesty's pleasure and expect what gracious answer, by the will of God you shall give unto us, have briefly explained our former grounds, and confirmed by the Scriptures, and reasons deduced from them, the positions of our petition exhibited. And we humbly beseech your majesty to vouchsafe to read and to weigh these reasons; and let not the truth of our glorious Lord Jesus Christ be esteemed by the small numbers, contemptible state, or many infirmities of us that testify the same; but, seeing our cause concerneth the practice of Christ's Gospel, and due execution of his everlasting Testament, it may so be regarded, and by that heavenly touchstone be examined."

The fourteen positions of difference between the church of England and the Separatists, are then re-stated, with abundant Scripture references, to support them, together with the heads of numerous

arguments, or "reasons deduced from these and other the like Scriptures," in support of these several positions; altogether filling some forty pages, small quarto. The petitioners conclude, by saying: " Thus have we briefly set down unto your majesty's view, some of the many reasons which the Scriptures do afford for confirmation of the positions which we propound; whereby your highness' wisdom may perceive what weight is in the controversy between this church of England and us; what arguments do move us to stand in our testimony; what necessity lieth upon us to witness this truth of God, in so sundry important doctrines of the gospel; what cause our adversaries, the prelates and clergy of this land, have had to pursue us with such manifold and durable calamities, with what equity we have been all manner of ways traduced and divulged to be Donatists, Anabaptists, Brownists, Schismatics, etc.; and whether there be in us the spirit of error, faction, sedition, rebellion, etc.; while in these things only we insist, for these do labor in meekness and patience, in all obedience and good conscience towards God, and loyalty to your majesty and our native country; assenting to the other grounds of Christian religion professed in this land, and other churches about us; desiring and laboring the reformation of ourselves and ways; and now humbly craving of your majesty but to suffer us in peace, under your protection, within your majesty's dominions, to walk in this light which God hath re-

vealed, and practice of this truth, which he requir-
eth at our hands ; we carrying ourselves in all
loyalty, as obedient subjects ; and leaving the sup-
pression and abolishing of the evils which we wit-
ness against, unto your majesty (into whose hand
alone God hath put the sword) when he shall per-
suade your royal heart thereunto. And seeing
your majesty suffereth strangers in your dominions,
which differ from the hierarchy and worship here
established, we hope your natural, loving subjects
shall find no less favor in your eyes. However it
be, we shall not cease to pray the Lord of heaven
and earth to bless your sacred person and posterity,
protecting your highness from all evils intended
by any adversaries, confirming these your earthly
kingdoms in your hands many days, and vouching-
safe to give you a glorious inheritance in his
heavenly kingdom for evermore, Amen."

Signed,

" Your Majesty's loving and faithful subjects,
some living in foreign lands abroad, some
here at home in our native country impris-
oned and otherwise subject to many great
calamities, for the truth of the gospel of our
Lord Jesus Christ."

One might reasonably expect that such a peti-
tion, so full and frank, so loyal, respectful and
reasonable, would meet with kind and considerate
attention ; and secure for the petitioners, at least
the poor boon of being allowed to live in peace in
their native land. But it did no such thing.

We have not even yet reached the end of the Separatists' petitions to the royal hypocrite. Ainsworth* tells us, that some weeks after the presentation of their third petition, "while such of us as were employed in this business attended thereabout, it pleased an honorable personage, that we should briefly set down in writing the effect of our suit, which he said he would himself show to his majesty; whereupon, we wrote it down thus, as followeth:

"Our humble suit to the king's majesty is— That it would please his majesty, that we may be suffered to live here in peace, professing and practicing the truth of the gospel by us now witnessed, without molestation; as the French and Dutch churches are, notwithstanding the difference from the hierarchy and worship of the church of England: we carrying ourselves as loyal subjects, and leaving the suppressing, abolishing or reforming of the abuses that we witness against, to his majesty's discretion.

"That, if it please his majesty to have the differences tried and discussed, either our positions and reasons may be given to our adversaries to answer, and their positions and reasons (if they

* The *Apologie*, from which our particular knowledge of these petitions is obtained, was doubtless prepared by Henry Ainsworth and Francis Johnson, the teacher and the pastor of the first Separatist church in Amsterdam. But the internal evidence favors the presumption, that Ainsworth was chiefly concerned in the preparation and presentation of the several petitions to James.

will set down any) given us to answer, by the word of God: Or, That conference may be had in writing; the questions being first agreed upon, and then the arguments, answers, and replies, advisedly set down, until both parties have fully said (laying aside all by-matters): and so the whole exhibited to his majesty and their honors to judge of. Or any other course that by his majesty shall be thought meet of, for the finding out of the truth, by the word of God."

Such were the humble, but earnest, modest, manly and honest efforts of the Separatists to reach the royal eye and heart, and secure for themselves toleration in the land of their birth. But, though encouraged at first by his majesty himself, and apparently countenanced and advised by some near the throne, yet all these efforts came to nought; and after long attendance at court, the poor petitioners were driven back into exile and prison, without so much as a word of favor from this "Solomon of the age:" and perhaps, even without his having deigned to read one of their petitions, if indeed they were allowed to reach his royal hands; for it was a well-practiced trick of the archbishop of Canterbury and his satellites, to keep Separatists' petitions from reaching the throne.

To the millenary petition, the king thought it advisable to pretend some regard. He, therefore, appointed a "Conference," so called, to be held at

Hampton Court, between the bishops and the puritans. The disputants, on both sides, were designated by the king; who showed his impartiality, and his desire for a fair discussion of the points at issue, by nominating *nine* bishops, and about as many dignitaries, to defend the hierarchy; and *four* puritan divines to defend the petitioners; and all of these, even, not of one mind—not the choice of the puritans; nor, if we may take Calderwood's representation, altogether honest and reliable puritans.* The conference, or rather the farce, was not public; but was carried on in the drawing-room within the privy chamber, at Hampton Court.† It began on Saturday, January 14th, 1604, with a private interview between the king and his bishops and councillors; in which the preliminaries of the intended attack upon the puritans were arranged. On Monday, his majesty, surrounded by his privy council and nobles, began the farce, by brow-beating and abusing the puritan advocates; being himself the chief actor in the play.

* "What sincerity was thus meant, when for the sincere party were nominated two that were very corrupt? Apparently they were nominated only to be spies and prevaricate." — *Kirk of Scotland*, vi. 235.

† Hampton Court is the name of a palace built by Cardinal Wolsey, in Hampton, about twelve miles from London, on the river Thames. Its buildings, gardens and parks, are said to occupy an area of four miles. The Cardinal furnished it sumptuously; and among other articles, with two hundred and eighty silk beds for the accommodation of strangers.

The third day of the conference began with another private interview between the king and his nobility and the bishops, the puritans being excluded. In this interview the king defended and praised the high-commission court, and the subscription to all the archbishop's Articles, and to the Book of Common Prayer, and also the infamous *ex officio* oath; saying, "if any, after things are well ordered, will not be quiet and show his obedience, the church were better without him, and he were worthy to be hanged." It was under the delirium of joy produced by this most Christian and kingly speech, that Archbishop Whitgift, "with a sugared bait, which princes are apt to swallow," exclaimed: "Undoubtedly your majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's Spirit!" * and Dr. Bancroft, on his knees protested: "My heart melteth for joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, has given us such a king, as since Christ's time hath not been!" Such were the fulsome flatteries of these clerical dignitaries. These were the silken cords by which they bound the king to the hierarchy.

After this private acting had been carried on for a while, the puritan divines were called in, to receive an additional portion of contemptuous abuse from the lips of this Scottish Solomon. They were then dismissed with the following gentle words: "If this be all your party hath to say, I will make

* *Wilson's Life and Reign of James I.*, p. 665.

them conform themselves, or else I will harrie them out of the kingdom, or else do worse: only hang them, that's all." *

Thus ended the Hampton Court Conference. It was designed to answer very much the same purpose as was the pretended disputation, in the days of Queen Mary, between the Oxford doctors

* For the details of this conference, see *Neal*, II. 35-46; *Prince's Chronology*, pp. 104-107; *Hanbury*, I. ch. 6, 7; *State Trials* (Cobbett's) II. 70-91; *Wilkin's Con.*, IV. 373-75. *Dr. Montague's Letter* to his mother, dated Jan. 18, 1603, gives quite a rose-colored description of this famous conference. — *Winwood's Memorials*, vol. II. p. 18. *Sir John Harrington's* account is not so flattering. He too, was an eye and ear witness. He says: "The king talked much Latin, and disputed with Dr. Reynolds at Hampton; but he rather used upbraidings than arguments, and told the petitioners that they wanted to strip Christ again; and bid them away with their snivelling. Moreover, he wished those who would take away the surplice, might want linen for their own breech. The bishops seemed much pleased; and said, his majesty spoke by the power of inspiration. I wist not what they mean; but the spirit was rather foul-mouthed." — *Notes and Reminiscences*, in *Nugæ Antiquæ*, I. 181.

In the course of this "Conference," the king told his lords that "he had lived among such sort of men as the puritans, ever since he was ten years old; but might say of himself as Christ, Though I lived among them, I was never of them; nor did anything make me more to doubt their courses, than that they disallowed of all things which had been used in popery." Swears by his soul, he believes Ecclesiasticus was a bishop; says that Scottish presbytery as well agrees with monarchy as God and the Devil. — *Prince*, 106. On the last day of the "Conference" the king defended the High Commissioners, subscription to all the articles of the Book of Common Prayer, and also the oath *ex officio*; and said, if after things are well ordered, any one will not be quiet and show due obedience he were worthy to be hanged. — *Ib.* 106.

and Archbishop Cranmer and poor old Latimer; the latter so sick that he could scarcely hold up his head. Of the two, the Oxford Conference was the fairer. "In the accounts that we read of this meeting we are alternately struck with wonder at the indecent and partial behavior of the king, and the abject baseness of the bishops, mixed, according to the custom of such natures, with insolence towards their opponents." * The modest king, in giving an account of this conference, boasted — "That he had soundly peppered off the puritans; and that they had so fled him in argument, as would have been disgraceful in school-boys even." Dr. John Reynolds was one of these "peppered puritans;" styled by Calamy, "the wonder of the age for learning;" and by Hallam, "nearly, if not altogether, the most learned man in England." Bishop Kennet says, "This conference was but a blind to introduce Episcopacy into Scotland." † Hume shrewdly remarks, that the puritans were here so unreasonable as to complain of a partial and unfair management of the dispute; as if the search after truth were, in any degree, the object of such conferences. ‡ Wilson, in describing this conference, says, that the puritan divines "disputed against the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, the surplice, the oath *ex officio*, and other things that stuck with them; which they had

* Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, i. 297.† *Hist. Eng.*, ii. 665, n.

‡ Vol. iii. p. 278.

hoped to get all purged away, because the king was of a northern constitution, where no such things were practised: nor yet having felt the king's pulse, whom the southern air of the bishops' breaths had so wrought upon, that he himself answered most of their demands." *

Calderwood says: "The good professors in England were put in hope of a good beginning of reformation; and so much was pretended when the conference was appointed, but nothing less meant, yea, rather, under color of conference, to procure further confirmation to the corruptions and abuses. Good Mr. Cartwright, one of the number that was appointed for the conference, was hardly taken up by the king, when he went to him to salute him. The king said, 'What, are you the man that wrote against the Reverend Father, the Bishop of Canterbury?' The honest man took this saying very hardly; and foreseeing there was no hope of reformation, but rather a confirmation of all abuses, departed this life before the holding of the conference." †

One good thing came out of this conference. To one petition of the puritans the king gave heed: That there might be a new translation of the Bible; and appointed some forty or fifty learned men and divines to this important task; the fruit of which we enjoy in the English version of the Scriptures now in common use; which, though

* *Life of James I.*, p. 666.

† *Hist. Kirk Scot.*, vi. 285.

by no means faultless, is a work of great excellence.*

The Hampton Court Conference allowed the king and his bishops to say, that the puritans had been heard in defence of their claims, and had been vanquished in argument. And, though their four advocates were not the chosen representatives of the puritan party, and complained loudly that they were unfairly used in the conference, still the whole body were counted as a conquered enemy, and were doomed to corresponding treatment.

As an earnest of ill-will toward the puritans, ten of the ministers who took part in procuring and presenting the Millenary Petition were arrested and imprisoned; the judges having declared that it was an offence finable at discretion, and very near to treason and felony in the punishment, for it tended to the raising sedition, rebellion, and discontent among the people." † And what was still worse, the Separatists, who were not considered of sufficient importance to be allowed an advocate in the august conference, or even to be spectators of its proceedings, were yet condemned to share fully in the persecutions with which the nonconformists were visited, and by which they were "harried out of the kingdom."

This conference was the prelude to a royal proc-

* James and Bancroft did what they could to make this version speak the language of Episcopacy. — *Hanbury*, i. 1, 2, note.

† *Hallam, Const. Hist.*, i. 298; *Neal*, ii. 65.

lamation, issued March 5, 1603-4, establishing anew the whole Book of Common Prayer, with some explanation, as it was in the previous reign; and requiring all men, "ecclesiastical as well as civil, to conform themselves unto it, and to the practice thereof, as the only public form of serving of God, established and allowed to be in this realm;" and admonishing all men, "that hereafter they shall not expect, nor attempt any further alteration in the common and public form of God's service, from this which is now established." *

On the 19th of March, 1603-4, king James' first parliament assembled, and was opened by the king in person with a long and characteristic speech, in which he declared, among other things, that the puritans were insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth; acknowledged the Roman church to be "our mother church," although defiled with some infirmities and corruptions; declared that since his coming, he had been so far from increasing the burdens of the papists, that he had as much as possible lightened them; and avowed his readiness to meet them midway.†

On the 20th of the same month, the Convocation of the clergy, under the presidency of the violent Bancroft — Whitgift having died on the 29th

* *Wilkins*, iv. 378; *Neal*, ii. 47; *Stowe's Chron.*, 885, ed. 1682; *Prince*, p. 107.

† *Prince*, 107; *Parl. Hist.*, vol. i. cols. 477-89; *Stowe's Chron.*, 887-44.

of February* — met, and drew up a book of one hundred and forty-one canons; which, with the king's proclamation, completed the machinery for harrying the puritans out of the kingdom. The canons were confirmed by letters patent from the king, and became the law of the realm, June 25th, 1604.

These canons denounced excommunication, "*ipso facto*" — for the very act — upon all who should affirm "that the church of England, by law established, is not a true and apostolical church;" or "that the form of God's worship contained in the Book of Common Prayer, containeth anything in it that is repugnant to the Scriptures;" or "that any of the thirty-nine articles of the church, are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe to;" "that the rites and ceremonies of the church of England are wicked, anti-christian, superstitious, or such as, being commanded by lawful authority good men may not with a good conscience approve, use, or, as occasion requires, subscribe;" or that, "the government of the church of England, by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons and the rest that bear office in the same, is anti christian, or repugnant to the word of God;" or "that the form or manner of making and consecrating bishops, priests, or deacons, contains any-

* "Dr. Barlow says, that not many days before he was stricken, he most earnestly desired that he might not live to see the parliament which is to meet on March 19." — *Prince*, 107.

thing repugnant to the word of God, or that these officers are not rightly ordained;” or “shall separate from the communion of the church of England, or combine together in a new brotherhood;” or “shall affirm that there are within this realm, other meetings, assemblies, or congregations of the king’s born subjects, than such as are established by law, that may rightly challenge to themselves the name of true and lawful churches.” For each of these several offences, excommunication, with all its civil and ecclesiastical terrors and disabilities, was pronounced; and the offender was not to be restored “but only by the archbishop, after his repentance and public revocation of his wicked error.” *

Such were some of the canons which were forged by this convocation, and ratified and confirmed and enforced by the tyrannical rulers of Church and State during this entire reign. These were the ecclesiastical laws by which multitudes of pious men, ministers and laymen, were fined and imprisoned in their native land, and driven out of the kingdom to die in foreign climes. To these oppressive canons all the “king’s born subjects” were required to conform. His majesty issued his proclamation ‘July 6th, 1604, ordering “the puritan ministers either to conform before the last of November, or to dispose of themselves and families

* *Neal*, II. 53-62; *Wilkins’ Concilia*, IV. 380-81; *Hanbury*, I. 120-28.

some other way ; as being men unfit, for their obstinacy and contempt, to occupy such places."*

The weight of this proclamation and of these canons fell alike on Separatists and Puritans. Of the latter, the number who were ejected, silenced or suspended, in the course of the ensuing year, up to November 5th, 1605, is estimated at from two hundred and seventy, to four hundred.†

Bancroft was a fit instrument to carry on this work of persecution. Few worse men ever occupied Lambeth palace than John Whitgift ; but Richard Bancroft was one of those few. He was a sycophant to his majesty ; but a harsh, violent and unrelenting persecutor of all non-conformists. "A person," says Wilson, a contemporary historian, "severe enough ; whose roughness gained little

* *Prince*, p. 108. *Wilkins* gives a royal proclamation for "authorizing and uniformity of the Book of Common Prayer, to be used throughout the realm," dated March 5th, 1603 ; and another, enjoining conformity to the service of God established, and dated July 16th, [n. s.] 1604. — *Concilia*, iv. 406.

† "Dr. Dayton says, that from June 25, 1604, to November 5, 1605, there were four hundred ministers ejected, silenced or suspended, by virtue of these canons." — *Prince*, iii. note. *Neal* says : "By these methods of severity, above three hundred puritan ministers were silenced or deprived." — ii. 64. *Dr. Grey* says, "that by the rolls brought in by Bishop Bancroft before his death, it appears that there had been but forty-five deprived on all occasions." — In *Neal*, ut sup. *Heylyn* makes the number forty-nine. — *Hanbury*, i. 127. *Prince*, however, says : "The names being taken of the puritan ministers, deprived, under admonition, and denied admittance, for not subscribing, amounted to above two hundred and seventy, and yet of eight bishoprics no account is given." — *N. E. Chronology*, 111-12. See also *Hanbury*, i. 127, note.

upon those that deserted the ceremonies." * "A divine," says Neal, "of a rough temper, a perfect creature of the prerogative, and a declared enemy of the religious and civil liberties of his country." †

* *Life and Reign of James I.*, fol. p. 685.

† *History of the Puritans*, II. 68.

CHAPTER XI.

REV. JOHN ROBINSON AND REV. JOHN SMYTH. — REV. RICHARD CLYFTON. — THE SEPARATISTS IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND. — CHURCH ORGANIZATION. — PERSECUTION. — FLIGHT TO HOLLAND.

It was in 1604, the second year of the reign of the odious and contemptible James I.,* that we are first introduced to that great and good man, the Rev. John Robinson. The exact place of his nativity, his parentage and early history are unknown. He was probably born in some part of Lincolnshire, in the year 1575;† and was educated at Cambridge, most likely at Corpus Christi College, entering in 1592, at the age of seventeen, obtaining a fellowship in 1598, and taking his degree of M. A. in 1599.‡ The catechist of Corpus Christi,

* In justification of these epithets, see Appendix, Note H.

† *The Works of John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, With a Memoir and Annotations, by Robert Ashton, Secretary of the Congregational Board, London.* Three volumes 12mo. Boston: Doctrinal Tract Society, 1851. Now Congregational Board of Publication. Vol. 1. sect. 1.; *Brook's Puritans*, 11. 384.

‡ *Masters' Hist. Corpus Christi College*; with a Continuation by Dr. Lamb, to 1831, in *Robinson's Works*, vol. 1. pp. 14, 15, note. It deserves remark, that Robert Browne, Henry Barrowe, and John Greenwood, all of them celebrated Separatists, were probably

at that time, was the celebrated Rev. William Perkins, from whom Mr. Robinson's mind may have received that deep religious impress which it ever after retained, and for whom he ever cherished a profound regard. On leaving Cambridge, Mr. Robinson entered on the work of the ministry in Norfolk county, at or near Norwich, exactly where is not known; and it is doubtful whether he was ever in full orders in any place; for, though a moderate conformist on leaving the university, he was yet a conscientious puritan, and entertained serious objections to some of the ceremonies of the church of England. His scruples soon brought him into trouble with the church governors, and he was suspended from the ministry. And even those who went to him in a quiet, private way for spiritual advice and instruction were subjected to fines and imprisonments, and excommunication.* Be-

educated at this college. See *Masters*, pp. 227-29, and 251-56, where the reader will find pretty full and fair accounts of these noted men. The only edition of *Masters* to which I have had access contains nothing about John Robinson, so far as I have been able to discover.

* *Henry Ainsworth*, a worthy associate of John Robinson, in his "Answer to Crashaw's four questions, propounded in his sermon preached at the Cross, Feb. 14, 1607, and printed 1608," in allusion to this Norwich experience, says: "If any among you, not meddling with the public estate of your church, but feeling or fearing his own particular soul-sickness, do resort to a physician whose receipts are not after the common sort, for advice about his health, or of friendship and acquaintance to see him, he is subject to the censure and thunderbolt of your church. Witness the late practice in Norwich, where certain citizens were excommunicated for resorting unto and praying with Mr. Robinson, a man worthily

ing forbidden to exercise his public ministry, Mr. Robinson applied for the mastership, or chaplaincy, of the Norwich Hospital, or the lease of a building from the city; hoping thus to be able to employ himself for the good of his fellow-citizens without complying with the full requisitions of the church canons; but in both objects he failed. Despairing of any freedom or usefulness in the church of England, he was at length brought, after long and careful consideration, to the decision to abandon that church entirely, and to join himself to the Separatists. This occurred, probably, in 1604, when he resigned his fellowship. And from about this date the history of John Robinson becomes identified with the history of Congregationalism.

Mr. Robinson, morally and intellectually, was a very superior man. His mind was clear and discriminating, well disciplined and admirably balanced. He possessed the rare ability to contemplate an absorbing subject without losing sight of other relative matters of interest and importance. His moral qualities were as marked as his intellectual. He was eminently prudent, modest and humble; courteous, kindly and deeply pious. His search for truth was most careful and thorough.

reverenced of all the city, for the graces of God in him, as yourself also I suppose will acknowledge; and to whom the care and charge of their souls was erewhile committed. Would any unmerciful man have dealt so with his bond-slave in a case of bodily sickness? But hereby all may see what small hope there is of curing the canker of your church." — *Counterpoysion*, p. 147, ed. of 1642; *Hunbury*, i. 185; *Robinson's Works*, vol. i. p. 15.

He was open to correction, anxious to receive light from any quarter, and ready to modify or abandon his opinions when convinced that they were erroneous. With such intellectual and moral qualities, it is not surprising that John Robinson was highly esteemed by his associates, and soon became a leading spirit among the Separatists.

Of the history of Separatism in the northern and western counties of England, previous to 1604, very little is known. We only know that as early as 1593 — we know not how much earlier — there were in those counties associated, if not organized bodies of Separatists, who were in correspondence with their brethren of like faith in and around London. Penry, the martyr, refers to these in one of his last letters from prison, addressed “to the distressed, faithful congregation of Christ in London,” dated April 4th, 1593, to whom he says: “I would wish you earnestly, to write, yea, to send, if you may, to comfort the brethren in the west and north countries [counties], that they faint not in these troubles; and that also you may have of their advice, and they of yours, what to do in these desolate times. And if you think it anything for their further comfort and direction send them conveniently a copy of this my letter, and of the declaration of my faith and allegiancy; wishing them before whomsoever they may be called, that their own mouths be not had in witness against them in anything.” *

* *Waddington's Penry*, 176.

Among these despised and persecuted Christians, Penry had doubtless labored, and was therefore naturally anxious not only to comfort them in the desolate times on which they had fallen, but also to have them know that he had not renounced the principles which he had maintained when with them, and had been guilty of nothing deserving of death or imprisonment. He seems to have anticipated the cruel efforts of his enemies and persecutors, after his death, to blacken his character and destroy his reputation.

Into this neighborhood, Mr. Robinson found his way from Norwich. His associates here were the people described by Governor Bradford in his history of Plymouth Colony, — who, “by the travail and diligence of some godly and zealous preachers, and God’s blessing on their labors, as in other places of the land, so in the *north parts*, became enlightened by the word of God, and had their ignorance and sins discovered by the word of God’s grace, to reform their lives and make conscience of their ways;” and who “were both scoffed at, and scorned by the profane multitude, and the ministers urged with the yoke of subscription, or else must be silenced; and the poor people were so urged with apparitors and pursuivants, and the commission courts, as truly their affliction was not small. Which, notwithstanding, they bare sundry years with much patience, until they were occasioned, by the continuance and increase of these troubles, and other means which the Lord raised

up in those days, to see further into these things by the light of the word of God; how that, not only those base beggarly ceremonies were unlawful but also that the lordly, tyrannous power of the prelates ought not to be submitted to." *

And from the same authority we learn, that these good people "were of several towms and villages, some in Nottinghamshire, some in Lincolnshire, and some of Yorkshire, where they bordered nearest together." † And further, that many of them finally "shook off this yoke of antichristian bondage, and as the Lord's free people joined themselves, by a covenant of the Lord, into a church estate, in the fellowship of the gospel, to walk in all his ways, made known, or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeavors, whatsoever it should cost them." ‡

The first organization of these northern Christians into a Congregational church, so far as is known, was at Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, a seaport and market town on the eastern bank of the Trent, sixteen miles northwest from Lincoln, the capital of the county, and one hundred and forty-eight from London. The exact date of this organization is a little uncertain. Morton, in his Memorial, places it in 1602; but Penry's language,

* *History of Plymouth Plantation*, by William Bradford, the Second Governor of the Colony. Now first printed from the Original Manuscript, for the Mass. Hist. Society, p. 8. Boston, 1856. 8vo. pp. 476; edited by Charles Deane.

† *Ib.* p. 22.

‡ *Ib.* p. 21.

which has already been quoted, suggests that it may have occurred some years earlier.*

The first pastor of the Gainsboro' church was the Rev. John Smyth, or Smith, a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and described by one who knew him well, as "a man of able gifts, and a good preacher."† He was early a zealous puritan and a great sufferer for nonconformity. His earliest experience of persecution "for the word's sake" was for a sermon preached before the university, in which he maintained the unlawfulness of sports on the Lord's day. For this heresy he was summoned before the vice-chancellor of the university. He offered to prove that the Christian Sabbath ought to be observed by an abstinence from all unnecessary, worldly business, and spent in works of piety and charity. But this was just what the dignitaries of the church of England did not then care to have proved.

His first public service as a preacher was in the city of Lincoln. He was afterwards beneficed at Gainsborough, an important seaport and market

* "Governor Bradford's History takes no notice of the year of this Federal Incorporation, but Mr. Secretary Morton, in his Memorial, places it in 1602. And I suppose he had the account, either from some other writings of Governor Bradford, the Journals of Governor Winslow, or from oral conferences with them, or other of the first planters; with some of whom he was contemporary, and from whence, he tells us, he received his intelligence." — *Prince's New England Chronology*, p. 100. See Penry's words, *ante*, p. 280.

† *Bradford*, 9; *Brook*, II. 195-96.

town on the Trent. As early as 1592, he was among the leaders of the Separatists, and with many of his brethren was thrown into prison in London. After more than eleven months' imprisonment, he was arraigned before the high commissioners; and on being asked if he would go to church, replied, that he could not without playing the dissembler and hypocrite to please them, or to avoid trouble, for he thought it utterly unlawful; whereupon he was answered by one of the commissioners: "Come to the church, and obey the queen's laws, and be a dissembler, be a hypocrite, or a devil, if thou wilt!" * But Mr. Smyth's moral sense not allowing him thus to belie his conscientious convictions, he was remanded to the Marshalsea prison.

How early Smyth became¹ a Separatist we do not know. Francis Johnson was his college tutor, and the scholar may have learned his first ecclesiastical lessons from his tutor. Though an unstable man, Mr. Smyth appears to have been honest and conscientious; and to have very carefully and thoroughly investigated the questions at issue between the hierarchy and the Separatists, before deciding

* Francis Johnson, in a letter to Lord Burleigh, dated Jan. 18, 1593-94, states this, as having come under his own cognizance. — *Strype's Ann.*, iv. No. 89. In the same letter Johnson speaks of Smyth as "a preacher, one of us." See also, *Brook*, ii. 195; *Bradford* in *Young's Chronicles*, p. 22; *Hunter's Collections, Concerning the Founders of New Plymouth*, p. 33, 8vo. Lond. 1841; *Prince's Chronology*, p. 100.

on his course. According to a statement in Ainsworth's Life, previous to his total separation from the church of England, Smyth spent nine months in studying the grounds of conformity and non-conformity; and held a disputation with Messrs. Dod, Hildersham and Barbon, on the points of conformity, and the use of prescribed forms of prayer.* That he was a man of influence and ability, and an attractive preacher, is evident from the unusual efforts of Bernard, a conforming puritan of some distinction in a neighboring parish, to prevent his people from going off to Smyth.† Paget calls him "one of the grandees of the Separation." And if he wrote the "True Description; out of the word of God, of the Visible Church," which was published in 1589, it is sufficient evidence, not only of the thoroughness of his investigation of the points in controversy between the Churchmen and Separatists, but of the early date

* *Brook*, II. 196.

† Robinson in his "*Justification of Separation*," tells Bernard: "Once, you know, Mr. Bernard, you did separate from the rest [of your church] a hundred voluntary professors into covenant with the Lord, sealed up with the Lord's Supper, to forsake all known sin, to hear no wicked or dumb minister, and the like; which covenant, long since, you have dissolved, not shaming to affirm, you did it only in policy, to keep your people from Mr. Smyth." — *Robinson's Works*, II. 101; *Paget's Heresiography*, p. 68; *Hanbury*, I. 178, n. Ainsworth says, that Bernard, "and a hundred with him, made, not long since [not far from 1608] a pretended covenant together, whereby they separated from the unpreaching ministers, and all that hate to be reformed." — *Counterpoison*, p. 90, edition of 1642. The first issue was in 1608.

at which he came to a decision on these mooted points.* And, whether he or Clyfton wrote that work, it is equally a proof of the local interest felt in the controversy at the time it was published, and is suggestive of the early date of the church organization in Gainsborough.

For some years the scattered Separatists in the towns and villages around Gainsboro' resorted to Mr. Smyth's ministry, and constituted but a single church. But about the year 1606, another church was organized at Scrooby; or, to use Bradford's words, "these people became two distinct bodies or churches, in regard to distance of place, and did congregate severally; for they were of several towns and villages—some in Nottinghamshire, some in Lincolnshire, and some in Yorkshire, where they bordered nearest together."†

This second church had for its first pastor, the Rev. Richard Clyfton, or Clifton, a disciple of Mr. Smyth; and they ordinarily met on the Lord's day, at William Brewster's house, "which was a manor of the bishop's;" and were entertained with great love, "he making provision for them, to

* *Hall* assigns this to "Robinson's pastor;" it must, therefore, have been written either by Smyth or Clyfton; and as Smyth was the elder of the two, and earliest in the field, it is a fair presumption that he wrote it; and whether he or Clyfton wrote it, it is a proof of the progress of the cause in the vicinity in which both of these men then lived. This was published as early as 1689. — *Hanbury*, i. 28-34.

† *Bradford*, 9; *Prince*, 114. The date, 1606, is placed in the margin, by Morton, and followed by Prince.

his great charge; and continued so to do whilst they could stay in England.”* This manor house of the bishop’s, near the border of three counties, was an ancient country seat of the archbishops of York, situate at Scrooby, an insignificant little village on the river Idle, in Nottinghamshire, though near to the borders of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, on the great post road between London and Berwick, twelve miles from Gainsboro,’ and one mile south of Bawtry, and one hundred and fifty-two miles northwest from London. At the time it was occupied by Brewster, the manor house was a post house, as well as post office, where relays of horses were furnished and entertainment for travellers was provided. Brewster was Post Master at Scrooby, from April 1st, 1594, to September 30th, 1607.† The house was large, and well adapted to the purposes of accommodation, both for the public, and the good people who gathered there every Lord’s day to worship God as they could not in any of the surrounding church edifices of the establishment.‡

* *Bradford in Young*, 465. The Rev. Richard Clyfton was the eldest son of Thomas Clyfton, born in Normanton, county of Derby, about 1558; was instituted rector of Babworth, a village near Scrooby, July 11, 1586; and married Anne Stiffen of Warsop, September, 1586. — *Hunter*, 44. *Paget* calls him the principal of the Separatists, and says he wrote most to the purpose in defence of separation. — *Brook*, II. 199. *Ainsworth* styles him a worthy soldier of Christ. — *Hanbury*, I. 180.

† *Hunter*, 68.

‡ For the location of this manor, and for numerous particulars about the first actors in the transactions described, the public is

It was in this secluded, agricultural region, among the small farmers and weavers of this section, that John Robinson, after leaving his fellowship at Cambridge, found his home, sometime in 1604. For about two years he was connected with the Gainsboro' church, and Mr. Smyth was his pastor.† On

indebted to the investigations of Rev. Joseph Hunter. See *Collections concerning the Church or Congregation of Protestant Separatists formed at Scrooby in North Nottinghamshire in the Time of King James I. The Founders of New Plymouth, the Parent Colony of New England.* By Rev. Joseph Hunter, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, etc., etc., 8vo.; p. 205; Lond. 1854.

Leland describes Scrooby in 1541, as a "meane townlet;" "the parish church not big, but very well builded;" and the "great manor-place," as "standing within a moat, builded in two courts, whereof the first is very ample, and all builded of timber, saving the front of the house, that is of brick, to which *ascenditur per gradus lapideos*. The inner court building, as far as I marked, was of timber building, and was not in compass past the fourth part of the outer court." — *Itinerary*, vol. i. p. 86.

It was the property of the archbishop of York, as far back as the Doomsday Book was made, in the eleventh century. It was leased by archbishop Sandys, in 1582, with other property, to his eldest son Samuel; and William Brewster was Samuel Sandys' tenant. In his account of Cardinal Wolsey's Northern Journey, after his first fall from royal favor, Cavendish speaks of Scrooby: From Southwell, in Nottinghamshire, where Wolsey had been occupying his favorite palace some little time, he says, the Cardinal intended to remove to "Scrooby, which was another house of the bishoprick of York." "Against the day of his removing, divers knights and other gentlemen of worship in the county, came to him at Southwell, intending to conduct him through the forest into Scrooby." "The next day he came to Scrooby, where he continued until after Michaelmas, ministering many deeds of charity." — *Life of Wolsey*, pp. 322-27.

† Hall says to Robinson, in one of his controversial works: "Lincolnshire was your country, and Master Smyth your oracle and general."

the formation of the Scrooby church, he united with that, and ultimately became its associate pastor or teacher. It seems probable that these northern Christians, for awhile after their organization, were not much molested by the bishops, for the prelates were themselves in mortal fear of Elizabeth's successor. But when these fears were fully allayed by the Hampton Court Conference, the ratification of the severe articles of the convocation of March, 1604, the king's proclamation enjoining entire conformity to these articles, and, above all, by the elevation to the archepiscopal throne, of the rough-tempered persecutor, Bancroft, in December—when, by these means the fears of the bishops were entirely removed and their persecuting zeal was set with a sharper edge, then the poor Separatists on the borders of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, were made to feel the full weight of the king's wrath and the bishops' hate.

The brethren sought to cover themselves for awhile, by meeting in private houses, and by moving from place to place. Still, fines and imprisonment were imposed upon them with an unsparing hand; until at length, despairing of any peace in their native land, they resolved to emigrate to Holland. Mr. Smyth and his friends went over first, in the year 1606, and settled at Amsterdam, where the London church, under Messrs. Johnson and Ainsworth, had been for several years in exile. In the fall of 1607, Bradford tells us, that "Messrs. Clyfton and Robinson's church being extremely

harassed, some cast into prison, some beset in their houses, some forced to leave their farms and families, begin to fly over to Holland, with their reverend pastor, Mr. Clyfton." It seems to have been, however, with great difficulty that they escaped from England. A large company of them hired a vessel, at Boston, to carry them to Holland. The captain promised to be ready at a time and place agreed upon, but disappointed them: he afterwards took them on board in the night, only to betray them to their enemies; who stripped them of their property, treated their females with indecency, carried them through the streets of Boston, to be a laughing stock to the inhabitants, and afterwards arraigned them before the magistrates; and, though chargeable with no crime, procured for them a month's imprisonment, and seven of them to be bound over to the next assize, or county court. Another attempt appears to have been more successful, and Mr. Clyfton and several members of his church reached Amsterdam in safety, in the autumn of 1607.*

In the spring of 1608, the remaining members of the Scrooby church, having completed their arrangements for removing to Amsterdam, engaged a Dutch captain to take them on board from an unfrequented common, remote from any house, between Hull and Grimsby, near the mouth of the river Humber. The women and children, with all

* *Bradford*, 11-12.

the baggage, were sent down the river in a bark, while the men went by land. They all arrived at the place of embarkation a day before the ship. The sea was rough, and the females were sick : this induced the mariners, who had charge of the bark, to put into a small creek, and there await the arrival of the Dutch ship. The next morning she came ; but the tide was out, and the bark was aground and could not be got off. The captain of the vessel seeing the men on the beach, sent his boats and took on board a number of them ; as the sailors were about to return for a second load, "the master espied a great company, both of horse and foot, with bills, and guns, and other weapons, for the country was raised to take them. The Dutchman seeing that, swore his country oath, '*sacramente*,' and having the wind fair, weighed anchor, hoisted sail and away." The men on land might all have escaped ; but a part of them, going to the rescue of the women and children, were taken with them. And, "pitiful it was to see the heavy case of these poor women in distress ; what weeping and crying on every side, some for their husbands, that were carried away in the ship ; others not knowing what should become of them and their little ones, crying for fear and quaking with cold." *

The captives were dragged from one justice to another, with the hope of finding some one to con-

* *Bradford*, 13.

vict and imprison them. Finding, however, nothing against them; and not knowing what to do with such a number of distressed and helpless women and children, their persecutors at length dismissed them, to find shelter as they could — homes, they had none. The pretence for these arrests was, probably, the proclamation of the king in 1608, forbidding any to transport themselves to Virginia without the king's express license.*

In the mean time, those on board the ship, separated from their friends and families, and destitute even of a change of clothing, endured a terrible storm, and narrowly escaped foundering at sea. After fourteen days of peril and suffering, they at length reached Amsterdam; and there found among their exiled countrymen who had preceded them, a resting-place from the raging elements and from the wrath of man.

In subsequent attempts to escape from England, the poor church were more successful; and in the course of the year, the divided families and separated friends were permitted to embrace each other in a foreign land, but a land of religious liberty. Mr. Robinson, and his college friend and endeared associate in the care of the afflicted church, William Brewster, were the last to leave

* *Palfrey's Hist. N. E.*, vol. I. p. 242; *Rapin's Hist. Eng.*, vol. II. bk. XVIII. 176. *Rapin* ascribes this proclamation to Bancroft's exertions. And says, the court was apprehensive that the puritans would become, in the end, too numerous and powerful in America.

their native shore ; "having tarried, to help the weakest over before them."

The Scrooby church had not been long in Amsterdam, before they found that Mr. Smyth and his followers were falling into contention with Mr. Johnson's church, "and that the flames thereof were like to break out in that ancient church itself (as afterwards lamentably came to pass) ;" * and prudently decided to leave the city, to avoid being drawn into their contentions, "though they knew that it would be very much to the prejudice of their outward interest, as it proved to be. Yet, valuing peace and spiritual comfort above other riches," after about a year's residence in Amsterdam, they decided to remove to Leyden, "a fair and beautiful city and of a sweet situation, but made more famous by its university, but wanting that traffic by sea which Amsterdam enjoyed." †

* *Bradford*, 16.

† "By several passages in Gov. Bradford's manuscripts it seems as if they began to remove to Leyden at the end of 1608." — *Prince*, 120.

Professor Kist, of the Leyden University, published in 1848 a Memoir of John Robinson, Minister of the Brownist Congregation of Leyden. In this memoir is a copy from the "Court Registers" of Leyden, under date of February 12th, 160[8]9, of the substance of a joint application of John Robinson and his congregation, for "denizenship" in Leyden, the language of which implies, that there were then in that city agents or messengers of the church, making arrangements for the removal of the whole congregation. This interesting document reads as follows :

"To the Honorable the Burgomasters, and Court of the City of Leyden,

"With due submission and respect, Jon Roburthse, Minister of

Mr. Clyfton, being well settled, and beginning to feel the infirmities of advancing years, preferred to remain at Amsterdam, and so was dismissed to Mr. Johnson's church, of which he became teacher, after Ainsworth's separation; and there remained to the day of his death, May 20th, 1616, aged 63 years.* Mr. Brewster was chosen assistant to Mr.

the Divine Word, and some of the members, of the Christian Reformed Religion, born in the Kingdom of Great Britain, to the number of one hundred persons or thereabouts, men and women, represent that they are desirous of coming to live in this city, by the first day of May next, and to have the freedom thereof in carrying on their trades, without being a burden, in the least, to any one. They, therefore, address themselves to Your Honors, humbly praying that Your Honors will be pleased to grant them free consent to betake themselves as aforesaid. This doing," etc.

The action of the court on this petition is recorded: "The court in making a disposition of this present memorial, declare that they refuse no honest persons free ingress to come and have their residence in this city, provided that such persons behave themselves, and submit to the laws and ordinances; and therefore the coming of the memorialists will be agreeable and welcome.

"This done in their session at the Council House, the 12th day of February, 1609. Done in my presence. — (Sd.) I. Van Hant." — H. C. M. in *Historical Magazine*, III. 357-8.

* *Hunter's Collections*, 44. *Bradford's* way of speaking of Clyfton would lead one to suppose that he must have been a much older man than Hunter reports him to have been. Bradford in his Dialogue says: "Richard Clyfton was a grave and fatherly old man when he first came into Holland, having a great white beard; and pity it was, that such a reverend old man should be forced to leave his country, and at those years to go into exile. But it was his lot; and he bore it patiently." — In *Young*, 453. *Hunter* drew his data from an old English Bible, on the blank leaves of which were divers memoranda of the Clyfton family, chiefly in the handwriting of one of Clyfton's sons. Richard was a superior man. A man of talents and learning; a good preacher,

Robinson "in the place of an elder," and removed with the church to Leyden.

The flames of contention which Mr. Robinson and his church feared, did indeed break out in the "ancient church" in Amsterdam. Smyth, good, restless man,* very soon after his arrival at Amsterdam, began to indulge in speculations which—to say the least—were far from profitable, and which were well adapted to make trouble in the church. Among his earliest notions was this:—that it was sinful to use the English translation of the Bible in the worship of God; insisting that the teachers should bring the original Hebrew and Greek into the assemblies, and translate from them *viva voce*. His argument—if such it may be

a facile writer, and a very able controvertialist. "Sound and orthodox he always was, and so continued to his end," says Bradford.

* *Baylie* says, that he had heard Master Smyth called "a man of right eminent parts."—*Dissuasive*, p. 15. *Neal* says, he was "a learned man, of good abilities, but of an unsettled head, as appears by the preface to one of his books, in which he desires that his last writings may always be taken for his present judgment."—*Hist. Pur.*, 11. 71. *Ainsworth* says of him: "In three sundry books he hath showed himself of three several religions."—In *Hanbury*, 1. 179. *Robinson* says of Mr. Smyth: "His instability and wantonness of wit, is his sin and our cross."—*Works*, 11. 62. Smyth justifies his changeableness, by saying: "To change a false religion is commendable and not evil; and to fall from the profession of Puritanism to Brownism, and from Brownism to true Christian baptism, is not evil or reprobable in itself, except it be proved that we fall from true religion."—*Smyth's Character of the Beast*, in *Brook*, 11. 198. See *Crosby's* defence of Smyth, *Hist. Eng. Baptists*, vol. 1. pp. 91–100, and 265–68.

called — was, that “upon the Day of Pentecost, fiery cloven *tongues* did appear; not fiery cloven *books*, Acts 2: 3; and always there must be a proportion betwixt the type and the thing typed. The fiery *law* was given in *books*, Deut. 32: 2; the fiery *gospel* was given in *tongues*. The *book*, therefore, was proper for them, the *tongue* for us.” *

He seems to have cherished a like prejudice against using a book in singing the praises of God. He argued, that “books and writings were of the nature of pictures and images, and therefore in the nature of ceremonies; and so, by consequent, the reading of a book is ceremonial. The Holy Scriptures are not to be retained as helps before the eyes in the time of spiritual worship. It is unlawful to have the book before the eyes in singing of psalms.” † Mr. Smyth also renounced his belief in what he calls “the tri-formed presbytery, consisting of three kinds of elders, namely, pastors, teachers, rulers.” This he declares “is none of God’s ordinance, but man’s device; and that lay-elders, so called, are antichristian.” ‡ Another notion which this eccentric man entertained, was, “that in contributing to the church treasury, there ought to be a separation from those that are without, and a sanctification of the whole action

* *Hanbury*, i. 180–81.

† *Smyth’s Differences*, p. 4, in *Baylie’s Dissuasive*, p. 18; *Hanbury*, i. 181.

‡ *Hanbury*, i. 182.

by prayer and thanksgiving." "There ought to be a separation in alms and in contributions to the treasury, as well as in other parts of our spiritual communion." *

He began, also, to differ from his brethren on the question of recognizing the baptism of the church of England. He argued, that if the church of England was an antichristian establishment, her ministers were without Divine commission; and accordingly, that all their ministrations were null and void; therefore, baptism should be repeated on all who had received the ordinance at their hands, when they united with the Separatist churches. He next began to question the lawfulness of infant baptism.† He also maintained that flight in time of persecution was unlawful.‡

But, in addition to all these points of difference and divergence from his brethren, Mr. Smyth finally embraced some of the sentiments of the Dutch Remonstrants, maintaining the doctrine of universal redemption; denying the doctrine of predestination, original sin, and saints' perseverance; arguing that believers might fall away from that grace which would have saved them had they continued in it; and, finally, that the new creature needed not the support of scripture and ordinances, and might attain to perfection in this life.§

* *Hanbury*, i. 184. † *Brook*, ii. 196-97. ‡ *Crosby*, i. 94.

§ *Brook*, ii. 196. *Crosby*, vol. i. pp. 90-94, questions the truth of some of these charges, but does not invalidate them. See also pp. 265-68 of *Hist. Eng. Baptists*

These differences, which Mr. Smyth published to the world, and argued with his usual acuteness, if not ability, were more than enough to produce a breach between himself and his ancient brethren; and he consequently separated himself, with Mr. Thomas Hellwisse, John Murton, and some others, and organized a new church, first baptizing himself, then Mr. Hellwisse, and they, their followers.*

All these changes of sentiment and practice occurred between 1606 and 1609; for in the last named year Mr. Ainsworth published "A Defence of the Holy Scriptures, Worship and Ministry used in the Christian Churches separated from Antichrist; against the Challenges, Cavils and Contradiction of Mr. Smyth in his book intituled 'The Differences of the Churches of the Separatists,' " etc.,† from which several quotations have been made in the preceding pages.

Mr. Smyth, with all his excellencies, was a most uncomfortable, troublesome man; a type of a class of men which the church has always had, to serve as goads and pricks. But his career in Holland was brief. In 1610, he died in Amsterdam, of consumption, "to which," Bradford tells us, "he was inclined before he came out of England."‡

* See Appendix, Note I.

† *Hanbury*, i. 178. *Hall*, writing against Robinson in 1610, says, that Smyth had become a Baptist, and had "written desperately both against thee and his own followers." — *Robinson's Works*, III. 897.

‡ *Bradford* in *Young*, p. 451; *Crosby's Hist. Eng. Baptists*, i. 268.

His followers chose Mr. Hellwisse as their pastor; not an educated man, but "of good natural parts, and not without some acquired." * But their continuance in Amsterdam was short; for, carrying out one of the principles of their founder — that flight in time of persecution was wrong — the greater part of them, with their pastor, returned to England soon after 1611,† and there bore a noble testimony in favor of liberty of conscience, and against persecution for religious belief. They wrote and protested and suffered for many years, earning even from their warm opponents, the reputation of honest, conscientious, good men. They are generally reported to have been the founders of the General Baptist denomination. Mr. Hellwisse died probably about 1620. ‡

* *Crosby's Hist. Eng. Baptists*, I. 269.

† *Ivimey's Hist. Eng. Baptists*; *Crosby*, I. 269-75.

‡ *Brook*, II. 279-82; *Robinson's Works*, III. 155-56.

Crosby says, that Hellwisse was "a member of the ancient church of Separatists, which had been founded at the establishment of the Reformation in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign; and was very serviceable to that people when they transported themselves out of England into Holland, to escape persecution." — *Hist. Bap.*, I. 269. It does not appear from this statement, which of the ancient churches of the Separatists Hellwisse was a member of and aided; but from a paragraph in *Robinson's* work on Religious Communion, we infer, that it must have been Mr. Smyth's, or Mr. Clyfton's church: "The truth is, it was Mr. Hellwisse, who above all, either guides or others, furthered this passage into strange countries. And if any brought oars, he brought sails; as I could show in many particulars, and as all that were acquainted with the manner of our coming over can witness with me." — *Robinson's Works*, III. 159.

CHAPTER XII

MR. ROBINSON AND HIS CHURCH IN LEYDEN. — HIS NUMEROUS PUBLICATIONS.

ARRIVED at Leyden, the members of the Scrooby church immediately "fell to such trades and employments as they best could," to obtain an honest livelihood.* In a populous city, a city of islands, intersected by the various streams of the Rhone and by numerous canals, there was not much scope for husbandry, to which most of the brethren had been trained in England; but the weavers and artisans found ready employment, for Leyden had long been famed for its cloth manufactures. William Bradford, at that time under age, but who in after years became a distinguished man among them, bound himself to a silk dyer; Elder Brewster found employment, first, as a schoolmaster, and after a while obtained the means to open a printing office, in connection with William Brewer, another member of this church.† Edward Wins-

* *Bradford.*

† At their press were printed several works for the English market which could not have got the bishops' *imprimatur*. Brewer seems to have been a man of some property and consideration. He was admitted a member of the university of Leyden, and is

low, another of the leading men of the colony, also became a printer; and in short, the great body of the church were soon engaged in trade, manufacturing, or some mechanical business.*

The upright, Christian deportment of these English exiles soon secured the confidence and respect of the Dutch inhabitants, and a comfortable livelihood in this land of strangers. In the mean time their numbers gradually increased to about three hundred souls, who "lived together in love and peace without any considerable differences, or any disturbance that grew thereby, but such as was easily healed in love."†

During all this time the devoted pastor of the Leyden church was as busy as the busiest of his flock. Besides preaching three times a week, and attending to "other manifold labors" connected with the care of a large church, he found time to

styled in the city records — *edelman* — honorable. He furnished the capital, while Brewster was the active business partner. Brewer remained at Leyden until after Mr. Robinson's death, when he sold out his property at Leyden and removed to England. — See an interesting account of this partnership, in the *Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries*, vol. iv. pp. 4-6. N. Y. 1860.

William Bradford, when married in Leyden, Nov. 1618, is registered a "fustian maker." — *Hist. Mag.* III. 262. "Fustian — a thick, twilled cotton of several varieties, embracing velveteen and corduroy." — *Worcester's Dic.*

* See extracts from the Leyden City Records, in *Hist. Mag.*, III. 261-68, 358-59; IV. 4-6. See further on this topic of trades, etc., *supra*, chap. 15.

† *Bradford* in *Young*, 456, compared with 84, 86 and 880.

write many works, both practical and controversial. These severally deserve a passing notice, as they constitute a part of the history of Congregationalism, and not an unimportant part either.

Mr. Robinson's first work after leaving England was written and published at Amsterdam, probably near the close of 1608, and is entitled, "An Answer to a Censorious Epistle," written by Rev. Joseph Hall, afterwards bishop of Norwich, and addressed to "Mr. Smyth and Mr. Rob., Ringleaders of the late Separation at Amsterdam."* In his "Answer" to Hall, Robinson first gives briefly the grounds on which he and his brethren had separated from the church of England. And this he does with characteristic clearness and comprehensive brevity; and in a style both terse and chaste, which, though pointed and spirited, is yet courteous, and free from that antichristian acrimony which is characteristic of the controversial writings of that age. Hall made a sharp and la-

* *Robinson's Works*, III. 397-420; *Hanbury*, I. chap. 11.

The complete works of John Robinson have been collected and published in three handsome, compact volumes, by the Congregational Board, London, and by the Congregational Board of Publication, Boston, 1853. These volumes were edited by Robert Ashton, Secretary of the Congl. Board, London, who not only supplied valuable annotations on the several works, but also an excellent memoir of Mr. Robinson. These volumes are a thesaurus of facts and arguments in defence of Congregationalism, and should have a place in every intelligent Congregationalist's library. Mr. Hanbury has furnished very full details of Robinson's works, in his *Historical Memorials*, three vols. 8vo., London, 1839-1844.

bored reply to this Answer, in 1610; but Robinson did not deem it deserving a rejoinder: "First," as he tells us, "because it is a large and learned volume so full-farced [stuffed with various matters] by him, as it seems, that he might prevent further answer. Secondly, his treatise is as much (and more immediately) against the Reformists [the Puritans] and their cause in the main, as against us and ours. Thirdly, the truth requireth not that *persons* but *things* be answered; and things in it know I none not answered in my Defence against Mr. Bernard. ["A Justification of Separation," etc.] Lastly, I do put as great a difference between him and Mr. Yates [to whom Robinson was then replying] as between a word-wise orator, both laboring more and being better able to feed his reader with the leaves of words and flowers of rhetoric, than with the fruits of knowledge, as also striving rather to oppress the person of his adversary with false and proud reproaches, than to convince his tenet by sound arguments; and between a man sincerely zealous for the truth, and by his simple and solid dealing by the Scriptures, as Mr. Yates doth, giving testimony of his unfeigned love thereof. Which truth, my prayer to God is, that he with myself, and all others so seeking it, may find, and therein accord in all things." *

* Preface to "An Answer laid down by Mr. John Yates, preached in Norwich," etc. "Answers by John Robinson." *Works*, III. 286. Mr. Yates was fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and subsequently minister of St. Andrews, Norwich. "He

Near the close of 1610 Mr. Robinson published a voluminous, able, and exhaustive work, entitled, "A Justification of Separation from the Church of England, against Mr. Richard Bernard his Invective intituled 'The Separatists Schisme.'" Bernard was a conforming puritan, vicar of Worksop, a market-town and parish in Nottinghamshire, near Scrooby. He was at one time a zealous reformist; and repeatedly avowed his intention of leaving the Establishment. Once he actually resigned his living. But, impulsive and unreliable, he repented, and subscribed anew, and ultimately became a bitter enemy of the Separatists. Robinson doubtless had him in mind when he wrote: "There are many men to be found which are violent in all things, but constant in none. And though all things be with them as the figs in Jeremiab's two baskets (Jer. xxiv. 1-3), the good very good, and the evil very evil, yet are they ever shifting hands out of the one basket into the other." * And in another place he says: "I doubt not but Mr. Bernard and a thousand more ministers in the land, were they secure of the magistrate's sword, and might they go on with his good license, would wholly shake off their canonical obedience to their ordinaries, and neglect their citations and censures,

was a puritan, distinguished for his piety and abilities, for whom Mr. Robinson entertained great respect." He wrote a treatise against "persons prophesying out of office," or lay preaching. — *Robinson's Works*, III. 288.

* *Works*, II. 3.

and refuse to sue in their courts; for all 'the peace of the church,' which they commend to us for so sacred a thing. And yet, the approbation of men and angels makes the ways of God and works of religion never a whit the more lawful, but only the more free from bodily danger." * And Smyth, as zealous, impulsive and changeable as Bernard, though with a hundredfold more moral courage, describes him as "changeable as the moon, mutable as Porteus, and variable as a chameleon." † This man, says Ainsworth, came forth "to fight against the truth, which but a while since he would needs seem to favor: but things not succeeding according to his expectation, he hath changed his love into hatred." ‡

Bernard's attack on his old friends called forth three replies: one, entitled "*Counterpoyson*," 1608, republished in 1642, by Henry Ainsworth; another, "*Parallels, Censures, and Observations*," by John Smyth, 1609; and a third, and much the fullest and most thorough, by Mr. Robinson, in 1610. In spirit, this work is very much like the answer to Hall; though in a style more free and diffusive, being designed for a popular defence and justification of Separation. Still, it is close and logical in its reasoning, adroit and sharp in its retorts, comprehensive and convincing in its general character.

* *Works*, II. 18, 24.

† *Smyth's Parallels*, p. 5, in *Robinson's Works*. Editorial Notice.

‡ *Counterpoyson*, p. 88.

It proves Robinson to have been, not only a scholar and divine, but a most accomplished controversialist. The work is a perfect storehouse of facts and arguments touching the questions at issue between the Churchmen and the Separatists, which richly deserves the careful attention of every person who would fully understand the merits of this controversy. In nothing is it more noteworthy, than the perfect familiarity of its author with the inspired Scriptures. The learned Dr. Campbell, in his analysis of this work, says: "They who want logic, will find it here. The writer enters, at great length, into the kingdom of Christ in most of its aspects, viewing it in relation to baptism, to communion, to polity, and to the kingdoms of this present world. It does admirable execution, both against the church of England and the church of Rome. The ample resources of the author are made strikingly manifest. There are few points affecting the great subject which are not more or less discussed or referred to." *

In his address to "the Christian Reader," alluding to the fact that two answers had already been made to Mr. Bernard's book, Mr. Robinson says: "I thought it meet to add a third, not as able to speak more than they, but intending something further; namely, an examination of the particulars, one by one, that so in all points the salve might be answerable unto the sore; applying myself therein

* *Robinson's Works*, 11. Editorial Notice.

to such a familiar and popular kind of defence as Mr. B. hath chosen for his accusations." * Then, after remarking on Mr. Bernard's changeable, inconsistent course towards the Separatists, declaring on one occasion as he did, that he "had much ado to keep a good conscience in dealing against this cause"; and on another, that he "would never deal against this cause nor withhold any from it" — Mr. Robinson passes on to a consideration of every considerable point made by his adversary. We cannot, of course, follow him through five hundred compact pages; but we may cull here and there an important sentiment, or an illustrative passage, appropriate to the purposes of this work.

Of the church of England he says: "We do acknowledge in it many excellent truths of doctrine, which we also teach without commixture of error; many Christian ordinances, which we also practise, being purged from the pollution of Antichrist; and for the godly persons in it, could we possibly separate them from the profane, we would gladly embrace them with both arms." †

In reply to the insinuation that the Separatists

* *Robinson's Works*, vol. II., Preface. Mr. Ainsworth says of this book of Bernard's, that it "hath rather show than weight of reason, as the judicious reader may perceive; and seemeth to be penned by him rather for disgrace of others, than defence of themselves." — *Counterpoison* — "To the Christian Reader."

† *Works*, *ut sup.*, p. 15. So Ainsworth says, in his reply to Bernard: "Now we deal against your church, in regard of the constitution thereof, not doubting but God hath many elect heirs of salvation among you." — *Counterpoison*, p. 34.

sought to change the civil government of England, Mr. Robinson says: "All States and policies which are of God, whether monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical, or how mixed soever, are capable of Christ's government. Neither doth the nature of the State, but the corruption of the persons, hinder the same in one or other." * — Works, II. 17.

In speaking of the burdensome rites and ceremonies of the church of England, he tells Mr. Bernard: "Howsoever you labor to cover your popish ceremonies — for these you mean, though you name them not — under the title of things indifferent; of toys, trifles, and the like, champing them up small, that they may the easier be swallowed, denying that either holiness or necessity is put in them; yet hath the contrary been sufficiently manifested by your own men, to whose large treatises to this purpose I refer the reader." — Ib. 27.

In regard to Bernard's commendation of "true antiquity," as a guide to church order, Robinson says: "It cannot be denied but that is best which is most ancient, and that truth and righteousness were in the world before sin and error; but neither the one nor the other did continue long,

* To this objection Ainsworth replied: "So then for popular government, we hold it not, we approve it not; for if the multitude govern, then who shall be governed. Christian liberty (which all have) is one thing; the reins of government (which some have) is another." — *Counterpoyson*, p. 103. Robinson's and Ainsworth's views are more fully explained in the "Apology," which is noticed *supra*.

either amongst men or angels. And he that but considers what monstrous errors and corruptions sprang up in the church of the New Testament, whilst the apostles lived which planted them, will not think it strange though almost all were overgrown with such briars and thorns in a few ages following." — Ib. 34.

Against the Congregational polity, Bernard urged "the novelty thereof, differing from all the best reformed churches in Christendom." The same objection is still urged. To this, Robinson replied : "It is no novelty to hear men plead custom, when they want truth. So the heathen philosophers reproached Paul, as a bringer of new doctrine, Acts xvii. 19. So do the papists discountenance the doctrine and profession of the church of England ; yea, even at this day, very many of the people of the land use to call popery the old law, and the profession then made [in the church of England] the new law. But we, for our part, as we do believe, by the word of God, that the things we teach are not new, but old truths renewed, so are we no less fully persuaded, that the church constitution in which we are set, is cast in the apostolical and primitive mould, and not one day nor hour younger, in the nature and form of it, than the first church of the New Testament." * — Ib. 43.

* Ainsworth quotes Bernard as saying : "Your Separation is very strange, unheard of in any age of the church ; having no show or warrant from God's word, either by commandment or example." To which Ainsworth replies : "You would not call our

Mr. Robinson's treatment of Mr. Bernard's argument for a national church, derived from the parables of our Lord, in the thirteenth chapter of Matthew — of the field and the net — is very able and conclusive, and should be read carefully by all who have an interest in church discipline and purification. But, covering as it does some twelve compact pages, (Works, vol. II. pp. 117–29,) it is impossible to give the gist of it in an extract of moderate length. A few detached paragraphs may give the reader some idea of Robinson's manner. As preliminary to the discussion, he lays down the following sound principle of interpretation: "For ingress into the exposition of these two parables, of the field and draw-net, I do desire it may be considered, that, for the attaining of the right sense of the Scriptures, we must remember to interpret the more dark and obscure places, by places more plain and easy; and so parables, being dark speeches, and more hardly understood without ex-

Separation strange, if yourself were not a stranger from the commonwealth of Israel. What age was there ever in the world, since light was separated from darkness, that heard not of Separation from the false church? The first man Adam saw it, in the separation of Seth's posterity from Cain's. Noah did the like, in Shem's posterity from Ham's. Abraham was called out of Chal-dee; Lot out of Sodom; Israel out of Egypt and Babel; faithful Judah from rebellious Israel; Christ's disciples from faithless Jews and Gentiles; and all the Lord's people, from confused Babylon: Yea, God himself did first teach it, when he made a separation between the woman's seed and the serpent's." — *Counterpoison*, p. 22.

press exposition (Matthew xiii. 10, 11; Mark iv. 11, 12), are not to expound plain rules, but to be expounded by them. Mr. B., following, I confess, the most beaten way, makes the field the visible church, and the tares, scandalous offenders seen and discovered. Whereupon it must follow, that, as the Lord forbids the servants to meddle with the tares, or with the plucking them up, but will have them and the wheat to grow together in the field till the harvest, so both ministers and people are straitly prohibited and forbidden anyway to admonish and censure wicked and scandalous persons in the church, but must let them there remain without disturbance till the last judgment. * * * *

Thus, at once, by this one profane gloss, all the texts of Scriptures, and commandments of Christ, both for admonitions and excommunications, are utterly voided and annihilated. The brethren, nay the ministers themselves, may not meddle with the tares, the wicked, to admonish or reprove them; they must be let alone; the sword of the censurer, so graciously given to cut off rotten members, must no more now be drawn out, but must rust in the sheath of this exposition, notwithstanding all the plain Scriptures to the contrary. — Lev. xix. 17; 1 Thess. v. 14; 1 Tim. v. 20; 2 Tim. iv. 2; Matt xviii. 15; 1 Cor. v. 4, 5." — Works, II. 122.

Having shown the absurdity of Bernard's application of the parable of the field to justify the mixture of all sorts of people in a Christian church, Robinson concludes, by saying: "Let men then

cease to draw in by the hair of the head these parables, for tolerating the wicked in the church." — Vol. II. 124.

He next proceeds to give what he regards as a true explanation of the parable. There are, he says, two interpretations of the parable, either of which is better than the "forced gloss" which he had confuted: "First, admit the field is *the church*, which Christ expounds *the world*; then say I, by tares in the field are meant, not notorious offenders, but hypocrites, not so thoroughly discovered; which by the envy of Satan are foisted into the church. * * * * These 'servants' may well be some special persons in the church endued with a singular spirit of watchfulness and discerning, by which they do discover in some persons this tarish disposition, under the veil of holiness. * * * * Or by the 'servants' may be here meant the angels, who by conversing much with the church, both can, and without doubt do, through the subtilty of their nature and long experience, spy out in the church much cloaked wickedness and impiety, which, as the zealous ministers of God's justice, they are ready to revenge.

"But since the Lord Jesus, who best knows his own meaning, calls the field the *world*, (verse 38) and makes the harvest, (verse 39) which is the end of the field, the end of the world, and not of the church, why should we admit of any other interpretation? Neither is it likely that Christ would, in the expounding of one parable speak another, as


he should have done, if, calling the field the world, he meant the church.

"As God then in the beginning made man good, and placed him in the field of the world there to grow, where by the envy of the serpent he was soon corrupted; so ever since hath the seed of the serpent, stirred up by their father, the Devil, snarled at the heel of the woman's seed; and like noisome tares vexed and pestered the good and holy seed; which, though the children of God both see and feel to their pain, yet must they not therefore, forgetting what spirit they are of, presently call for fire from heaven (Luke ix. 54, 56) nor prevent the Lord's hand; but wait his leisure, either for the converting of these tares into wheat, which in many is daily seen — and then how great pity had it been they should so untimely have been plucked up — or for their final perdition in the day of the Lord, when the church shall be no longer offended by them." And having finished his exposition of this parable, he says: "And thus I hope the indifferent reader will easily see what succor Mr. B. finds amongst those tares under whose shadow he would fain shroud all the atheists, papists, and other flagitious persons in the church." — Ib. 124, 126, 128.

"Now for the parable of the draw-net, Matt. xiii. I confess the bad fishes may be wicked persons in the church, but undiscerned, as fishes under the water, between which and the good no difference is seen. If the fishes, and they that draw the net,

did know of the bad fishes in them, and had means of voiding them, they would never burden themselves and the net with them, except you will have as foolish fishermen here as you had husbandmen before; but till they do discern them to be as they are, they must take them, as they hope they are; though with you, all be fish that come to the net, yea, good fish too, till the commissary's court judge otherwise." — *Ib.*

Of the proper constitution and polity of a Christian church Mr. Robinson says: "This we hold and affirm, that a company, consisting though but of two or three, separated from the world, whether unchristian or antichristian, and gathered into the name of Christ, by a covenant made to walk in all the ways of Christ made known unto them, is a church, and so hath the whole power of Christ." — *Ib.* 132. "The visible church being a polity ecclesiastical, and the perfection of all polities, doth comprehend in it whatsoever is excellent in all other bodies political; as man, being the perfection of all creatures, comprehends in his nature what is excellent in them all; having being with the elements, life with the plants, sense with the beasts, and with the angels, reason. Now wise men, having written of this subject, have approved as good and lawful, three kinds of polities — monarchical, where supreme authority is in the hands of one; aristocratical, when it is in the hands of some few select persons; and democratical, in the whole body or multitude. And all these three forms have

their places in the Church of Christ. In respect of Him, the HEAD, it is a monarchy; in respect of the Eldership, an aristocracy; in respect of the Body, a popular state." — *Ib.* 140. 

He freely acknowledges that "the government of the church before the law, under the law, and in the apostles times, was, and so still is, not in the multitude, but in the chief. But this I desire the reader here to take knowledge of, and ever hereafter to bear in mind, that it is one thing for the officers to govern the church, which we grant, and another thing for them to be the church, which Mr. B, in expounding Matt. xviii., would needs make them, where he would have the officers alone to admonish and censure. As because 'the watchman is set up to blow the trumpet, and to warn the people when the sword cometh,' (Ezk. xxxiii. 2, 3,) that therefore he alone is the city or land, and bound alone to make resistance. The officers of the church are to govern every action of the church and exercise of communion; are they therefore alone to do all things? They, if there be any in the church, are to govern in every election and choice of ensuing officers; are they therefore alone to choose, excluding the church? They are to govern in preaching, prophesying, and hearing the word, and receiving the sacraments, singing of psalms, distributing unto the necessities of the saints; are they therefore alone to prophesy, to sing psalms, to contribute to the poor, and the rest? With as little reason can it be affirmed, that they

alone are to have communion in censures, to admonish and judge, because they are to govern in the carrying and administering of these matters." — Ib. 141-42.

"But here it will be demanded of me, If the elders be not set over the church for her guidance and government? Yes, certainly, as the physician is set over the body, for his skill and faithfulness to minister unto it, to whom the patient, yea, though his lord or master, is to submit; — the lawyer over his cause, to attend unto it; — the steward over his family, even his wife and children, to make provision for them; — yea, the watchmen over the whole city, for the sake of safe-keeping thereof. Such, and none other, is the elders' or bishops' government." — Ib. 144.

In regard to the rights and duties of church members, Mr. Robinson makes the following summary statement: "In the church all and every ordinance concerns every person as a part of their communion, without the dispensation of necessity, for their use and edification, 1 Cor. iii. 22; xiv. 26. All the officers to be chosen by suffrages and consent of the multitude, Acts i. 15; vi. 1-5; xiv. 2; the brethren are to admonish their brethren of every violation of God's commandment, Matt. xviii. 15-18, and so in order to tell the church, and to see the parties reformed: to observe and take notice of the officers' carriage and ministration, and to 'say to Archippus,' as there is need, 'Take heed to thy ministry that thou hast received of the Lord,

that thou fulfil it,' Col. iv. 17; and if the ministers will deal corruptly, and so persevere in the spirit of profaneness, heresy, idolatry, or atheism, to censure, depose, reject, or avoid them, Matt. xviii. 17. Rom. xvi. 17, 18. Gal. v. 12. 1 Tim. vi. 3-5. 2 Tim. iii. 1-5. Tit. iii. 10, 11; otherwise they betray their own souls, and salvation."

On the question of women's rights and duties in the church, Robinson is very emphatic: "For women, they are debarred by their sex, as from ordinary prophesying, so from any other dealing wherein they take authority over the man. 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12, yet not simply from speaking. They may make profession of faith or confession of sin; say amen to the church's prayers; sing psalms vocally; accuse a brother of sin; witness an accusation, or defend themselves, being accused; yea, in a case extraordinary, namely, where no man will, I see not but a woman may reprove the church, rather than suffer it to go on in apparent wickedness, and communicate with it therein. Now for children, and such as are not of years of discretion, God and nature dispenseth with them, as for not communicating in the Lord's supper now, so under the Law for not offering sacrifices, from which none of years were exempted." — Ib. 174, 215.

Passing much interesting matter, only one more extract from this able and instructive work can be given. This relates to the prelatical notion, all-prevalent in Robinson's day, and not yet entirely

abandoned — that bishops held certain peculiar prerogatives over ordinary ministers of the gospel. On this he remarks: "I will here interpose some few things touching 'succession,' and 'ordination' accordingly. First, then, we acknowledge, that in the right and orderly state of things, no ministers are to be ordained but by ministers, the latter by the former in the churches where they are, and over which the Holy Ghost hath set them." — Ib. 430.

* * * "The prelates, and those which level by their line, do highly advance ordination, and far above the administration of the word, sacraments, and prayer; making it, and the power of excommunication, the two incommunicable prerogatives of a bishop, in their understanding, above an ordinary minister. But surely, herein these chief ministers do not succeed the chief ministers, the apostles, except as darkness succeeds light; and Antichrist's confusion, Christ's order. Where the apostles were sent out by Christ, there was no mention of ordination; their charge was to 'go, teach all nations, and baptize them;' and that the apostles accounted preaching their principal work, and after it, baptism and prayer, the Scriptures manifest. Acts vi. 4; 1 Cor. i. 17. And if ordination had been, in those days, so prime a work, surely Paul would rather have tarried in Crete himself, to have ordained elders there, and have sent Titus, an inferior officer, about that inferior work of preaching, than have gone himself about that, leaving Titus for the other! Tit. i. 5." — Ib. 436.

It was during the years 1612, 1613, that the controversy between the Arminians and Calvinists raged with the greatest violence at Leyden. Episcopius, who had just then been made professor of divinity in the university of Leyden, was the champion of the Arminian party. Polyander, an older professor in the university, headed the Calvinistic party. The two professors divided the students between themselves, and opposed each other with great earnestness in their respective lecture-rooms. Mr. Robinson, ever on the alert to understand all truth, found time, notwithstanding his other pressing engagements, to attend the lectures of both professors. These opportunities, added to his own accurate knowledge of the Scriptures, and his familiar acquaintance with the entire circle of theology, made him a complete master of the controversy. This, Polyander and his friends were not slow to discover: and when Episcopius sent forth his Arminian *theses*, with the offer to defend them publicly against all opponents, the Calvinists urged Mr. Robinson to accept the challenge, and to meet the Professor in a public dispute. This proposal Mr. Robinson at first declined: but being urgently solicited to undertake the defence of the truth, as preëminently qualified for the task, he at last consented. Twice or thrice he met the champion of Arminianism in a public disputation; and, as Governor Bradford assures us, "put him to an apparent *non-plus*, in this great and public audience;" "which, as it caused many to give praise

to God that the truth had so famous a victory; so it procured Mr. Robinson much respect and honor from those learned men and others who loved the truth." *

In the year 1614 we find Mr. Robinson engaged in a defence of the Separation against the attack of Mr. Hellwisse, an Arminian Baptist, the associate of Mr. Smyth in his new organization. The character of the work may be judged of by the title, which, according to the fashion of the day, was very full: "Of Religious Communion: Private and Public. With the silencing of the Clamours raised by Mr. Thomas Hellwisse against our retaining the Baptism received in England: and administering of Baptism unto Infants. As also a Survey of the Confession of Faith, published in certain conclusions, by the remainders of Mr. Smyth's company: Prov. xiv. 15." † "The re-

* *Bradford*, 21; *Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, 40, 890, 452.

† *Robinson's Works*, III. 91-279. *Crosby* (*Hist. of Eng. Bap.*, I. App. IV.) has taken pains to collect from Mr. Robinson's reply — for the work itself seems to be lost — parts of this confession: According to which there were eighty-seven "conclusions;" many of which were regarded by Robinson as "either dark or erroneous;" while the rest "he found agreeable to the Scriptures." Among the erroneous conclusions are the following: "That original sin is an idle term; and there is no such thing as men intend by the word, because God threatened death only to Adam, not to his posterity, and because God createth the soul. That if original sin might have passed from Adam to his posterity, yet is the issue thereof stayed by Christ's death, which was effectual. That infants are conceived and born in innocency, without sin, and therefore they are all undoubtedly saved. That the new crea-

mainders of Mr. Smyth's company" were Mr. Hellwisse's church, already noticed, who had removed to London.

The author's design led him, first, to define and defend his sentiments respecting private and public communion with churches not scripturally organized. In respect to the former, he thus expresses himself: "I come to the thing I aim at in this whole discourse, which is, that we who profess a separation from the English national, provincial, diocesan, and parochial church and churches, in the whole formal state and order thereof, may, notwithstanding, lawfully communicate in private prayer, and other the like holy exercises — not performed in their church communion, nor by their church - power and ministry — with the godly amongst them, though remaining, of infirmity, members of the same church or churches; except some other extraordinary bar come in the way between them and us." — Works, III. 105.

He next passes to an explanation and defence of their church government. The Separatists were much pressed by the hierarchy and others with this objection to their government — that it was popular or democratical, and tended to the overthrow

ture which is begotten of God, needeth not the outward Scriptures, creatures, or ordinances of the church to support him, but is above them. That as God created all men according to his image, so hath he redeemed all that fall by actual sin, to the same end. That Christians may not go to law before magistrates, nor use an oath."

of the throne, as well as the established church of England. Our ecclesiastical ancestors were very sincere monarchists; and were, therefore, very solicitous to rebut this objection to their church polity. Mr. Robinson's work, now before us, furnishes a good sample of their way of meeting this objection; while it explains pretty fully the ecclesiastical doctrines and practice of his church.

He says: Because "many loud clamors of 'anabaptistry,' and 'popularity,' are raised against our government, I think it meet briefly to insert a few things touching our profession and practice therein. The government of the church, as it is taken most strictly for the outward ordering, directing, and guidance of the same church in her affairs, we place in the bishops or elders thereof; called by Christ and the church, to 'feed,' that is to 'teach' and 'rule' the same. Which their government, and the nature thereof, I will plainly lay down in such particulars as wherein the people's liberty is greatest; which are reduced to these three heads: exercise of prophesying; choice of officers; censuring of offenders." — Ib. 134. "For the exercise of prophesying; wherein men, though not in office, have liberty to move and propound their 'questions,' Luke ii. 46, and doubts for satisfaction, as also having 'received' a 'gift, to administer the same' unto 'edification, exhortation, and comfort:' Rom. xii. 6. 1 Pet. iv. 10. 1 Cor. xiv. 3. As, then, Paul and Barnabas coming 'into the synagogue' of the Jews, where they were no officers, 'the

rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, after the lecture of the law,' if they had 'any word of exhortation to the people,' to 'say on,' Acts xiii. 14, 15 — which order the Jews also observe in their synagogues at this day; so with us, the officers, after their ordinary teaching, signify and exhort unto the use of the like liberty in that and the other particulars formerly named: and so, as there is occasion, open and explain things obscure and doubtful; reprove things unsound and impertinent; and so order, moderate, and determine the whole exercise, by the word of God. And in this, I suppose, it appears to all men that the officers govern." — Ib. 135. "For the choice of officers, we do take for our direction the practices of the apostles and apostolical churches, Acts i. 6, 14, grounded upon a perpetual equity, that men should choose them under Christ, unto whose faithfulness, under the same Christ, and by his appointment, they are to commit themselves and their souls; and them, as Christ's and their servants, to maintain. * * * It is evident [in Acts vi.] that although the calling did chiefly depend upon 'the multitude,' yet did the government of the whole action lie upon the officers. Conformable whereunto is our practice, so near as we can, upon the like occasions." — Ib. "Lastly, For our direction in the public use of censures, we propound to ourselves the rule of Christ, Matt. xviii. 17, touching sins private in themselves, but to be made public by the sinner's refusing to hear admonition; and with it,

the practice thereof by the doctrine of His apostle, 1 Cor. v., about a sin of public nature. * * * For neither could the apostle, being but one, be the church or congregation, which consists of 'two' or 'three,' that is a company though never so small 'gathered together in Christ's name,' as he expounds himself, Matt. xviii. 20. * * * Answerable to the course by Christ and the apostles, there directed, and by the Corinthians observed, as appeareth, 2 Cor. ii. 6, we desire our practice may be. In which, sins scandalous, if in themselves of public nature, are brought to the church by one of the officers; or if private, and to be made public by the sinner's impenitency, by the brother offended and his witnesses, at the officer's appointment. Where the sin, being manifested, and for fact orderly proved against the offender, is by the elders condemned, and rebuked by the word of God, and the sinner exhorted to repentance, according to the quality of the sin. In which conviction and admonition, lawfully and sufficiently made, the church resteth: the men manifesting their assent thereunto by some convenient word or sign, and the women by silence. And so, the admonition, which before was Christ's and the officers', becomes the church's; following the others as their governors, and not otherwise. * * * The impenitent sinner is, for his humbling, to be cut off and excommunicated from the fellowship of the church. The elders, as governors, going before in decreeing the sentence, and so one of them, upon the people's

assent, as in admonition, pronouncing it in the name of Christ and his church."

"The order of our government, then, being such as I have described it, let every indifferent reader judge whether or not, in respect of outward order, it be popular, and wherein the people govern, as many please to reproach us and it." — *Ib.* 136–138.

Another division of this answer to Hellwisse takes up the subject of baptism, which the reader will find is handled with great ability.

The next work of Mr. Robinson's prolific pen bears date 1618; and is entitled: "The People's Plea for the Exercise of Prophecy: against Mr. John Yates, his Monopoly."* The object of this little work was to defend the practice of the Separatists, in allowing the brethren of the church to express their views in public after the preacher had finished his discourse. Their defence of this practice is sufficiently indicated by a previous extract. This practice was retained many years by the Leyden and Plymouth church; and, probably, laid the foundation for the religious conference meetings, now so common among Congregationalists.

In 1619 appeared Mr. Robinson's celebrated "Apology." It was originally published in Latin, but was afterwards translated and published in English, under the title of, "A just and necessary Apology of certain Christians, no less contumeliously than commonly called 'Brownists' or 'Barrowists.'"

* *Works*, vol. 111. pp. 280–335.

This work was undoubtedly suggested by the meeting of the famous Synod of Dort, near Rotterdam, November 13th, 1618 — May 29th, 1619. This was a General Council of the Dutch and Belgic churches, assisted by deputies from protestant churches in all parts of Europe. It was called by the States General, for the avowed purpose of reconciling the Calvinists and Arminians, particularly on what are termed "the five points," — election, redemption, original sin, effectual grace, and the saints perseverance. It resulted in the confirmation of the Calvinistic creed and the expulsion of the Arminian divines from the national churches of Holland. Mr. Robinson and his associates regarded this as a favorable time and opportunity to present to the protestant divines of Europe a comprehensive exhibition of the doctrinal and practical views of the Separatists, or Independents, as they began about this time to be called.*

The same general characteristics of style, spirit and sentiment, which have already been remarked upon and exhibited in Mr. Robinson's productions, are found in this "Apology." To enable the reader to judge for himself a few extracts will be given.

In speaking of the visible church, Robinson says : † " There is then had the most full and per-

* *Robinson's Works*, i. 285; *Hanbury*, i. 389.

† *Works*, vol. iii. pp. 1-79.

fect communion of the body in the holy things of God, which is the next and immediate end of the 'visible church,' when all the members thereof do convene in some one place. Acts ii. 42. Heb. x. 25. And if Nature, as philosophers teach, ever intend that which is most perfect, much more, Grace. Now that the church, commonly called 'visible,' is then most truly visible indeed, when it is assembled in one place; and the communion thereof then most full and entire, when all its members, inspired, as it were, with the same presence of the Holy Ghost, do, from the same pastor, receive the same provocations of grace at the same time and in the same place; — when they all, by the same voice, 'banding, as it were, together,' do with one accord, pour out their prayers unto God; — when they all 'participate' of one and the same holy bread, 1 Cor. x. 17; — and, lastly, when they all together consent unanimously, either in the choice of the same officer, or censuring of the same offender; — no man, admitting a due thought of things, can make doubt of." — Works, III. 13.

"There is, indeed, one church, and, as the apostle speaketh, 'one body,' as 'one Spirit, one hope of our calling, one faith, one baptism,' Eph. iv. 4, 5; that is, of one kind and nature; not one in number, as one ocean. Neither was the church at Rome, in the apostles' days, more one with the church of Corinth, than was the baptism of Peter one with Paul's baptism, or than Peter and Paul were one. Neither was Peter or Paul more one

whole, entire, and perfect man, — consisting of the parts essential and integral, without relation unto other men, — than is a particular congregation, rightly instituted and ordered, a whole, entire, and perfect church, immediately, and *independently*,* in respect of other churches, under Christ. * * *

“Any citizen of Leyden may enjoy certain privileges in the city of Delph, by virtue of the politic combination of the United Provinces and cities, under the supreme heads thereof, the States General; which he is bound also to help and assist with all his power, if necessity require; but that the ordinary magistrate of Leyden should presume to execute his public office in the city of Delph, were an insolent and unheard-of usurpation. The very same, and not otherwise, is to be said of pastors, and particular churches, in respect of that spiritual combination mutual, under their chief and sole Lord, Jesus Christ.” — *Ib.* 16.

“The word ‘Ecclesia,’ church, originally Greek, answering to the Hebrew קהל ‘kahal,’ doth primarily and properly signify a convention of citizens called from their houses by the public crier, either

* *Hanbury* (i. 274, n.) says: “To this word and place, the denominational distinction, *Independent* church, is commonly assigned; but its origin is more fittingly assigned to a date at least seven years prior;” when Henry Jacob — who is yet to be introduced to the reader — said, in 1611: “Where each ordinary congregation giveth their free consent in their own government, there certainly each congregation is an *entire* and *independent body politic*, and indued with power immediately under and from Christ, as every proper church is, and ought to be.” — *Ib.* p. 281.

to hear some public sentence, or charge, given : but translated to religious use, [it] denoteth an assembly of persons called out of the state of corrupt nature into that of supernatural grace, by the publishing of the gospel. Now the elders or presbyters, as such, are, and so are said to be, *called*, to wit, *to* their office of eldership, but *called out* they are not ; being themselves to *call out* the church, and unto it to perform the crier's office. Neither do I think that the name '*ecclesia*,' church, hath been used, by any Greek author, before the apostles' times, or in their days, or in the age after them, for the assembly of *sole* governors in the act of their government, or indeed before the same governors had seized into their own and only hands the churches' both name and power." — *Ib.* 33.

The following, though in part a repetition of sentiments already quoted, brings out so distinctly and connectedly Mr. Robinson's views of church order and government, that it deserves to be quoted entire : —

"Lest any should take occasion, either by the things here spoken by us, or elsewhere of us, to conceive that we either exercise amongst ourselves, or would thrust upon others, any popular or democratical church-government ; may it please the Christian reader to make estimate of both our judgment and practice in this point according to these three declarations following: First, We believe that the external church-government, under Christ the only Mediator and Monarch thereof,

is plainly aristocratical, and to be administered by some certain choice men; although the state, which many unskilfully confound with the government, be, after a sort, popular and democratical. By this, it appertains to the people freely to vote in elections and judgments of the church; in respect of the other, we make account it behoves the elders to govern the people, in their voting, in just liberty, given by Christ whatsoever. Let the elders publicly propound and order all things in the church, and so give their sentence on them: let them reprove them that sin, convince the gainsayers, comfort the repentant; and so administer all things according to the prescript of God's word. Let the people, of faith, give their assent to their elders' holy and lawful administration; that so the ecclesiastical elections and censures may be ratified, and put into solemn execution by the elders. * * * Secondly, we doubt not but that the elders both lawfully may, and necessarily ought, and that by virtue of their office, to meet apart, at times, from the body of the church, to deliberate of such things as concern her welfare, as for the preventing of things unnecessary, so for the preparing, — according to just order, — of things necessary, so as publicly and before the people, that they may be prosecuted with most conveniency. * * * Thirdly, by the people, whose liberty and right in voting we thus avow and stand for in matters truly public and ecclesiastical, we do not understand — as it hath pleased some contumeliously to upbraid us —

women and children; but only men, and them grown and of discretion: making account, that as children by their nonage, so women by their sex, are debarred of the use of authority in the church."

To the popish doctrine that marriage was one of the seven sacraments of the church, and could therefore only be properly celebrated by a minister of the church, all the early Congregationalists uttered their constant protest. Thus Robinson says: "We cannot assent to the received opinion and practice answerable, in the Reformed Churches, by which the pastors thereof do celebrate marriage publicly, and by virtue of their office." — *Ib.* 42-45.

In 1624 still another volume appeared from the pen of Mr. Robinson, entitled: "A Defence of the Doctrine propounded by the Synod of Dort, against John Murton, [or Morton] and his Associates, etc.; with the Refutation of their Answer to a writing touching Baptism." *

Murton appears to have been an Arminian Baptist, a disciple of Smyth, and a contemporary and associate of Hellwisse.* This treatise is an able defence of the Calvinistic doctrines of predestination, election, saints' perseverance, effectual grace, original sin, and of infant baptism.†

* *Robinson's Works*, i. 268-471.

† *Crosby* says: "Mr. John Morton was another of Mr. Smith's disciples, and contemporary with Mr. Hellwisse. I can find but very little concerning him." He wrote against infant baptism and suffered for his principles. He is believed to have left London,

The next published work of this laborious and devout man was of a practical and devotional character. Its title reads thus: "Essayes; or Observations Divine and Morall: Collected out of Holy Scriptures, ancient and moderne writers, both Divine and Humane. As also, out of the Great Volume of Men's Manners: Tending to the furtherance of Knowledge and Virtue," etc.

The first edition of these essays appeared in 1625, and the second, in 1634. Some of the topics discussed in this volume are: "Of the Affections of the Minde." "Of Religion and the Differences and Disputations thereabout;" in which he bewails the evil tendency of disputations about religion, "drawing the best spirits into the head from the heart." "Of Good Intentions." "Of Labour and Idleness." "Of Afflictions." "Of Society and Friendship." "Of Prayer." "Of Death," etc. etc. There are sixty-two Essays or Observations in the volume. They all abound with pithy

whither he returned from Holland with Mr. Hellwiase and his church, and preached in the country, at or near Colchester. "For, at the beginning of the civil wars, when they were demolishing an old wall near Colchester, there was found hid in it the copy of a book, written by J. Morton, supposed to be the same person. The General Baptists were very fond of it, soon got it printed, and it has since received several impressions. The author of this book appears to have been a man of considerable learning and parts, one who understood the Oriental languages, and was acquainted with the writings of the fathers, but a very zealous Remonstrant, or Arminian. It is entitled 'Truth's Champion.' "

— *Hist. Eng. Baptists*, vol. 1. p. 277. London, 1788.

and pious sayings and observations, and breathe throughout a lovely spirit.*

The title of Mr. Robinson's last work reads thus: "A Treatise, Of the Lawfulness of Hearing of the Ministers in the Church of England: Penned by that Learned and Reverend Divine, Mr. John Robinson, late Pastor to the English Church of God in Leyden. Printed according to the Copy that was found in his Study after his decease; and now published for the common good. Together with a Letter; written by the same author, and approved by his Church: which followeth after this Treatise. — John vii. 24. Printed Anno 1634." †

There is one advantage of these interminable title-pages: they answer as prefaces and introductions to the works to which they are appended. Accordingly, we may learn from the one before us, that this "Treatise" was a posthumous publication. The "Letter" was addressed to Mr. Jacob's Church in London, the history of which has not yet been reviewed. This "Letter" bears date "5th April, 1624;" and the "Treatise" was probably written some time during the same year. The great object of the Treatise is to show that, in cases of necessity, the Separatists might lawfully hear the ministers of the church of England. The character and spirit of the work may be judged of, by the introductory and closing paragraphs.

* *Robinson's Works*, i. 1-259.

† *Ib.* III. 386-378.

Robinson opens his Treatise with lamentation, accounting it a cross that he is in any particular compelled to dissent from his Christian countrymen; but confessing that he holds it a benefit and matter of rejoicing, when he can, in any thing, with good conscience, unite with them in matter, if not in manner; or, where it may be, in both. In "testimony of mine affection this way," he writes, "I have penned this Discourse, tending to prove 'The hearing of the word of God, preached by the ministers of the church of England, able to open and apply the doctrines of faith by that church professed, both lawful, and, in cases, necessary, for all of all sects or sorts of Christians, having opportunity and occasion of so doing; though sequestering themselves from all communion with the hierarchial order there established.'" He then proceeds, after some preliminary matter, to the following statement, and to answer objections to the doctrine advanced: "Now, for preaching by some, and hearing by others, which two always go together, they may be, and oft are, performed without any religious and spiritual communion at all passing between the persons preaching and hearing." — Works, III. 362. "Hearing simply, is not appointed of God to be a mark and note either of union in the same faith or order amongst all that hear; or, of difference of Christians from no Christians; or of members from no members of the church; as the sacraments are notes of both, in the participants: the hearing of the word of God is not

so enclosed by any hedge or ditch, divine or human, made about it; but lies in common for all, for the good of all." — *Ib.* 363.

Sixteen objections are then stated and answered; and he concludes in the following catholic and Christian language: "For myself, thus I believe with my heart before God; and profess with my tongue, and have, before the world; that I have one and the same faith, hope, spirit, baptism, and Lord, which I had in the church of England, and none other. That I esteem so many in that church, of what state or order soever, as are truly partakers of that faith — as I account many thousands to be — for my Christian brethren; and myself a fellow-member with them, of that mystical body of Christ scattered far and wide throughout the world. That I have always, in spirit and affection, all Christian fellowship and communion with them; and am most ready, in all outward actions and exercises of religion, lawful and lawfully done, to express the same. And withal, that I am persuaded the hearing of the word of God there preached, in the manner and upon the grounds formerly mentioned, is both lawful and, upon just occasion, necessary for me, and all true Christians, withdrawing from that hierarchial order of church-government and ministry, and the appurtenances thereof; and uniting in the order and ordinances instituted by Christ, the only King and Lord of his church, and by all his disciples to be observed. And, lastly, that I cannot communicate with, or submit unto

the said church-order and ordinances there established, either in state or act, without being condemned of my own heart; and, therein, provoking God, who is greater than my heart, to condemn me much more. And, for my failings — which may easily be too many one way or other — of ignorance herein, and so for all my other sins, I most humbly crave pardon, first and most, at the hands of God; and so of all men whom therein I offend, or have offended, any manner of way; even as they desire and look that God should pardon their offences." — *Ib.* 377.

All the published works of Mr. Robinson, of any importance, have now been noticed. And he who reflects on the peculiar circumstances, and the many and urgent pastoral and other duties which must have pressed on their author when composing them, must agree with the general verdict of his times — that John Robinson was a most remarkable man — a man of extraordinary talents, and learning, and acquisitions, and industry, and temper — to have written so much and so well, amidst so many inconveniences, and discouragements, and disturbing influences. He was a most extraordinary man. The very enemies of the cause for which he spent his life confess him to have been "a man of excellent parts, and the most learned, polished, and modest spirit as ever separated from the church of England." *

* *Baylie.*

I have been thus particular in the account of Mr. Robinson, because he is the reputed father of the modern Independents or Congregationalists. Though he never claimed this honor himself, and probably would never have allowed any one to ascribe it to him ; and though, so far as the principles of our denomination are concerned, Mr. Robinson was by no means the first discoverer — yet, he doubtless did more to perfect the system of Congregationalism in detail, and to recommend it to the Christian world, than any man since apostolic times. It now exists substantially as John Robinson left it.

It is a prevalent opinion, that Mr. Robinson's views of church order and discipline underwent very important changes while he was in Holland. Baylie, that bitter enemy of the Brownists and Independents, represents, that by Robinson's intercourse with Dr. Ames and Rev. Mr. Parker in Holland, such changes were wrought in his views "that he ruined the rigid Separation, allowing the lawfulness of communicating with the church of England in the word and prayer, though not in the sacraments and discipline."* Mr. Robinson

* *Dissuasive*, p. 17. Mr. Parker and Dr. Ames and Henry Jacob passed some time at Leyden, about 1610, among Mr. Robinson's people ; and were, no doubt, familiar with him. Governor Bradford, in his *Dialogue*, says : " We, some of us, knew Mr. Parker, Dr. Ames, and Mr. Jacob, in Holland, when they sojourned for a time in Leyden ; and all three boarded together, and had their victuals dressed by some of our acquaintance, and then they lived

did indeed allow, and his church did practice occasional fellowship with the church of England and other reformed churches, in hearing; and persons of reputed piety of other communions were allowed to commune with the Leyden church at the Lord's supper. And in these particulars he may have been less rigid towards the end of his life, than when he was first driven out of the church of England. Indeed, Edward Winslow tells us: "'T is true, I confess, he was more rigid in his course and way at first than towards his latter end; for his study was peace and union, so far as might agree with faith and a good conscience." * But all this might have been, without any great change of views. For, in his first work published in Holland, the year after his arrival, he utters sentiments and expresses feelings towards the church of England and many excellent men in her communion, which would very naturally result in such a communion † as Baylie represents as the fruit of Robinson's conferences with Ames and Parker.

Dr. William Ames was a learned and excellent man, of about Mr. Robinson's age; and probably his contemporary at Cambridge, under the tuition of the devout Mr. William Perkins. There is in

comfortable; and then they were provided for as became their persons. And after Mr. Jacob returned [to Middleburgh probably], and Mr. Parker was at Amsterdam, where he printed some of his books, and Mr. Ames disposed of himself to other places, it was not worse with him." — *Young's Chronicles*, 439.

* *Young's Chronicles*, p. 387.

† See *ante*, p. 307.

Mr. Robinson's writings several allusions to Mr. Ames, particularly in his work on Religious Communion; and two letters which passed between these two good men were published;* but there is nothing in these to justify the belief that Mr. Robinson was any more influenced by Mr. Ames than *he* was by Mr. Robinson. Mr. Cotton says, that in going to Holland, Mr. Robinson sought counsel from Dr. Ames and Mr. Parker, and they, discerning his humility and modesty, did "more freely communicate light to him, and received also some things from him."† But there is no evidence, so far as I have been able to discover, that any material change in sentiment or practice occurred in Mr. Robinson and his church after they removed to Holland.

One important doctrine of Congregationalism, however, seems to have been developed during this time, viz.: that the advice of sister churches should be sought by a church in cases of difficulty. Robert Browne, that violent advocate of Independency, did, it is true, advance this doctrine; but there was no opportunity for the practical application of

* *Robinson's Works*, III. 80-89.

† *Way of the Chh. Cleared*, pp. 7, 8. Masters (*Hist. Corp. Christi College*, p. 352) quotes from Hornbeck's *Hist.* p. 623: "Hic est cujus pater Robertus Parker, ó Μακαρίτης, tam erudite et copiose scripsit de Signo Crucis, etc., in causa religionis patriæ exul, qui una cum Amesio, notissimum virum J. Robinsonum ad sobriam in disciplina mentem revocat." See further about Messrs. Ames and Parker, *supra*, Chap. XIII., and Appendix, Note J.

it until after the churches of Smyth and Clyfton removed to Holland. The difficulty which sprang up between Ainsworth and Johnson, respecting the power of the Elders, occasioned an application to the Leyden church for counsel; this they most cheerfully gave, and readily interposed their kind offices to bring about a reconciliation between these two excellent men and their respective friends. Another instance has been already alluded to, when the London church sent to the churches at Amsterdam and Leyden for advice.* It is proper to remark here, that Mr. Robinson was of opinion, that the body of a church should not be sent to for advice, etc., "but some chief persons" in it. His words are: "He conceives it not orderly that the bodies of churches should be sent to for counsel; but some chief persons. Power and authority is in the body for elections and censures; but counsel for direction in all difficult cases, in some few. In which regard every 'particular church' has appointed its elderships for ordinary counselors; to direct it and the members thereof in all difficulties; with whom others are also to advise upon occasion; 'specially ordinary. 'The priest's lips should preserve knowledge, and they should ask the law at his mouth; for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts. Mal. ii. 7.'"

These sentiments of Robinson are carried out in the present practice of our churches in sending,

* *Robinson's Works*, III. 379-85.

each, a pastor and a lay-brother, when invited, to sit in council.

The extended account of John Robinson's ecclesiastical views, which has now been given, will enable the reader to form an accurate judgment of the doctrines and practice of the Leyden church, the venerable mother of all living Congregational churches; for the Leyden church and its learned, amiable and pious pastor were one in ecclesiastical views and religious practice. "Such was the reciprocal love and respect between him and his flock, that it might be said of them as it was said of the emperor Marcus Aurelius and the people of Rome, that it was hard to judge, whether he delighted more in having such a people, or they in having such a pastor."* And as this church was the reservoir through which Congregationalism has chiefly flowed, by two diverging streams, to the old and new world, it may be acceptable to my readers to have presented, in a connected and condensed form, their leading principles and doctrines.

In general, they believed the inspired Scriptures to be the only rule of faith and worship; and that every man had the right to judge for himself what the Scriptures taught, and to worship God agreeably to his convictions of truth and duty.

In their doctrinal creed they were strict Calvin-

* *Belknap's Am. Biog.*, Art. Robinson.

ists; agreeing substantially with the church of England and all the reformed churches of that period.

In ecclesiastical matters, they believed that no church ought to consist of more members than can conveniently watch over one another, and usually meet and worship in one congregation. — That visible believers only should compose a church; that such persons are to be embodied into a church “by some certain contract or covenant”; and that being embodied, they have the right to choose all their own officers. — That these are, “in some respects, of three sorts, in others but two,” viz., Pastors, or Teaching Elders, who have the power of overseeing, teaching, administering the sacraments, and ruling too; and “mere Ruling Elders, who are to help the pastors in overseeing and ruling”; and that the elders of both sorts form the presbytery of overseers and rulers, which should be in every particular church: and Deacons, who are to take care of the poor, and of the church’s treasure. — That these officers being chosen and ordained, have no lordly, arbitrary, or imposing power; but can only rule and minister with the consent of the brethren; who ought not in contempt to be called the *laity*, but to be treated as men and brethren in Christ, not as slaves or minors. — That no churches or church officers, whatever, have any power over any other church or officers, to control or impose upon them; but are all equal in their rights and privileges, and ought to be independent in the exercise and enjoyment of them.

As to the sacraments and church administrations, they held that Baptism is a seal of the covenant of grace, and should be dispensed only to visible believers, with their unadult children. — That the Lord's supper should be received as it was at first, in Christ's immediate presence, in the table posture. — That no set forms of prayer should be imposed. — That excommunication should be wholly spiritual, a mere rejecting the scandalous from the communion of the church in the holy sacraments, and those other spiritual privileges which are peculiar to the faithful. — They were very strict for the observation of the Lord's day; as also of solemn fastings and thanksgivings, as the state of their affairs required; but all other times, not prescribed in Scripture, they utterly relinquished. — Finally, they utterly rejected and repudiated the authority of man to invent or impose any religious rites, ceremonies, or observances, upon the churches of Christ.*

Such were the principles and doctrines of John Robinson and his excellent church; for the maintenance of which they were hunted down like wild beasts, and "harried" out of the kingdom; not being allowed even the poor privilege of exiling themselves for Christ's sake, until persecution, and insult, and imprisonment, had been heaped upon them. But that God who seeth not as man seeth, saw the end from the beginning; and was

* *New Eng. Chronology*, Part II. sect. 1.

wisely ordering these very things so as to accomplish his own glorious purposes. He who hath "his way in the whirlwind and in the storm" was directing the tempest of hierarchal wrath, to his own glory and to the ultimate triumph of the truth. By all these trials, God was purifying this poor church, and rendering it more fit for the Master's use. When he had winnowed his wheat; when he had refined his gold; when he had fitted his people for the work which he had assigned them — then he put it into their hearts to seek a new world, where, in a soil more friendly, and under a sky more propitious, they might plant and cherish the pure, simple, and scriptural principles of Congregational belief.

In order to give the history of Mr. Robinson's labors connectedly, the chronological order of events has been somewhat disregarded; and we shall have, in a subsequent chapter, to retrace our steps, and to consider some of the important events which transpired during the years that he was so busily employed in building up his own church, and in defending his sentiments from the attacks of numerous adversaries.

CHAPTER XIII.

REV. HENRY JACOB. — HIS NUMEROUS WORKS. — AN INDEPENDENT OR CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH ORGANIZED BY HIM IN LONDON, A. D. 1616.

THE year 1616 is memorable in the history of Congregationalism. In that year the principles of the Leyden church were transplanted to London and there embodied in a permanent church organization. The honored instrument in this good work was the Rev. Henry Jacob. He was born in Kent, in the year 1563; entered a commoner, or batler, at St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, in 1579, when sixteen years old; took his first degree, December 16th, 1583, and that of M. A. in 1586. He was made precentor of Corpus Christi College, and afterwards obtained the benefice of Cheriton, in Kent; which he left before 1591, having become "a semi-Separatist." * According to Anthony Wood,

* *Anthony Wood* says, he was "beneficed in his own county, particularly, as I have been informed, at Cheriton; but upon search in that parish register, wherein are the names of all the rectors of that church set down since 1591, H. Jacob's occurs not, as having been, perhaps, rector before that time." — *Athence Oxonienses*, vol. II., columns 8-10. *Brook*, II. 330-31. Commonly denominated a semi-Separatist, for not kneeling at the sacrament. — *Paget's Heresiography*, p. 94.

Mr. Jacob was "a person most excellently well read in theological authors; but withal a most zealous puritan, or as his son used to say, the first Independent in England. His writings against Francis Johnson, and Thomas Bilson, bishop of Winton, speak him learned." In the general characteristics of his mind and heart, Mr. Jacob resembled John Robinson, more than any other one of the leaders of the Separatists. A careful student, cautious in forming his opinions, and very conservative in his views; a mind remarkably well balanced; fair and kindly in his judgment of men and things; a close reasoner; with a clear, direct and convincing style, though possibly a little less genial and popular than Mr. Robinson — Mr. Jacob was in all respects worthy to be the associate-leader, with John Robinson, in reëstablishing Congregationalism in Christendom.

But though, at the time of our first acquaintance with him, a zealous reformer, and kindly disposed towards the Separatists, Mr. Jacob was yet not ready to embrace all their opinions; and about the year 1593-94, engaged in a private and friendly correspondence with Francis Johnson, the imprisoned pastor of the London Separatist church, with the hope of withdrawing him from rigid Separatism.* This correspondence, we are told, was brought about by "Mr. Jacob having some speech with certain of the Separation concerning their

* *Hanbury*, i. 86; *Robinson's Works*, III. 444; *Brook*, II. 330.

peremptory and utter separation from the churches of England;" and being "requested by them briefly to set down in writing his reasons for the defence of the said churches—they promising either to yield unto his proofs, or procure an answer unto the same:"—Mr. Jacob complied with this request, and his defence of the church of England was sent to Mr. Johnson, "being a prisoner in the Clink, Southwark." * Johnson replied, and a controversy ensued; which was made public by Jacob, some years after.† During the pendency of their discussion, Jacob seems to have retired to Holland; his zeal for reformation, probably, having exposed him to the penalties of the act against the Brownists, 35 Elizabeth, 1593 ‡ But he must have returned to England about 1597–98; for in 1598, he published "A Treatise of the Sufferings and Victory of Christ in the work of our Redemption," etc., in answer to Bishop Bilson's sermons, preached at St. Paul's, London, on the literal descent of Christ into hell." In 1600, he published a defence of this Treatise. §

* Preface to Jacob's Treatise, etc., in *Robinson's Works*, III. 444.

† *Hanbury*, I. 102.

‡ *Brook*, II. 830.

§ These sermons were preached by the encouragement of Archbishop Whitgift, at St. Paul's Cross, in Lent, 1597. In them the bishop maintained that hell was a place prepared for the devil and his angels, "beneath, *in corde terræ*"; and that Christ descended into it." Sir John Harrington, a contemporary writer, tells us, that Satan, knowing all this to be true, and not wishing to have the minds of people directed to these facts, "raised a sud-

Queen Elizabeth, we are told, was very indignant at these publications, and commanded her bishop "neither to desert the doctrine, nor let the calling which he bore in the church be trampled under foot by such unquiet refusers of truth and authority." * The queen's wrath, and the bishop's efforts to maintain the doctrine of the literal descent, called forth still another publication from Jacob, in 1604, entitled a "Survey of Christ's sufferings for Man's redemption, and of his descent to Hades or Hell, for our deliverance." In these treatises, Jacob maintained: "1. That Christ suffered for us, not only bodily grief, but also, in his soul, an impression of the proper wrath of God, which may be called the pains of hell. 2. That after his death on the cross he went not down into hell." †

In 1599, Mr. Jacob, then in Middleburgh, Zealand, published the substance of his controversy with Mr. Johnson, under the title of "A Defence of the Churches and Ministry of England, written in two Treatises, against the reasons and objections of Mr. Francis Johnson and others of the Separa-

den and causeless fear, by the fraud or folly of some one auditor, that the people verily believed" — lord mayor and all — "that Paul's church was at that instant falling down." — *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. II. p. 104. These sermons, we are told, greatly alarmed most of the puritans, because they contradicted some of their tenets. — *Biog. Britannica*, II. 810.

* *Biog. Britannica*, vol. II. pp. 810–11, and note; *Wood's Ath. Oxon.*, vol. II. cols. 8–10.

† *Hanbury*, I. 221, note.

tion, commonly called Brownists," etc. In this work Jacob spoke slightly of the sufferings of the Separatists, telling them that they suffered more than they need; and that it was not Christ's yoke which they bore, but their own. To this "Defence" Johnson replied, in "An Answer to Master H. Jacob, his Defence," etc., in 1600.* This long and able work is thought to have contributed materially to Jacob's change of sentiments, which soon after began to appear.

About this time, Mr. Jacob collected a church of English exiles, at Middleburgh, which he served as a pastor for several years; maintaining still, while thus separating from her worship and disregarding her ceremonies, that the church of England was a true church, though many things in her discipline and worship savored too much of Antichrist and required reformation.† There was not, however, a very wide difference, even at this time, between Mr. Jacob's views and those of Mr. Robinson, as is quite apparent.

* *Hanbury*, i. 102; *Brook*, ii. 103, 331. *Brook* says, (p. 103,) "In the year 1599, there was a long controversy carried on in print, between Mr. Johnson and Henry Jacob, concerning certain tenets of the Brownists. The same year the whole was collected and published at Middleburgh, by *Mr. Johnson*, consisting of ninety-one quarto pages, entitled: 'A Defence of the Churches and Ministry of England,' " etc. *Brook* is undoubtedly mistaken in supposing the controversy between Jacob and Johnson was carried on in print in 1599. It is possible that some letters may have passed between them during that year, but the controversy was of an earlier date, as already stated. It was not published by Mr. Johnson, but by *Mr. Jacob*. — See *Brook*, ii. 331.

† *Brook*, ii. 332; *Bradford* in *Young*, 489.

On the accession of James I., in 1603, Mr. Jacob returned to England, in expectation of such changes as would allow him, with a good conscience, to resume his ministry in the national church, and took an active part in efforts to procure these changes;* publishing, in 1604, "Reasons taken out of God's word and the best Human Testimonies, proving a necessity of reforming our Churches in England; framed and applied to four assertions," etc. These four assertions were: "1, It is necessary to reform the church of England, their ministry, and ceremonies. 2, For the space of two hundred years after Christ, the visible churches using government, were not diocesan churches, but particular, ordinary congregations only; and the bishops (as they were peculiarly called after the apostles) were only parished, not diocesan bishops, differing from other pastors only in priority of order, not in majority of rule. 3, The Scriptures of the New Testament do contain and set forth unto us (besides the government by extraordinary officers, apostles, prophets, evangelists,) an ordinary form of church government used then. 4, The ordinary form of church government set forth unto us in the New Testament ought necessarily to be kept still by us; it is not changeable by men, and therefore it only is lawful."†

* *Hanbury*, i. 221, note.

† *Reasons*, etc., p. 1. I quote from a copy of the work in the Mass. Hist. Soc's. Library, small quarto, pp. 83. See also *Hanbury*, i. 222; *Brook*, ii. 332.

This treatise is a piece of close, syllogistic reasoning; keen, learned, and conclusive. Its tone is such that the general reader would scarcely suspect the author to be other than a hearty Congregationalist. The only important difference between him and the Separatists at this time seems to have been in regard to the parish congregations of England. These, he admitted to be true churches, so far as they were composed of Christian men and women united together and meeting together for Divine service; which the Separatists generally denied. Jacob argued thus: "1, Every particular ordinary congregation of faithful people in England is a true and proper visible church. 2, Every such congregation, here and everywhere, is endued with power immediately from Christ to govern itself ecclesiastically or spiritually. 3, Every true proper visible church everywhere is but an ordinary constant congregation only." — P. 22.

To the objection that the church polity which he advocated was "directly against a monarchy, or kingly state"; and "being popular" would require the civil government to be conformed to it; he says: "First, we absolutely deny that any manner of ecclesiastical government requireth the civil government to become conformed to it. This is a most false conceit. The bounds of either government are distinct and clearly severed the one from the other. Albeit each doth aid and succor the other." And further, he says, "to object thus to the form of church government instituted by

Christ, is to accuse Christ himself and his gospel of not giving us the best form of a church, and that therefore we will devise and constitute a better." — P. 25.

To the common plea of the prelates — that the youth of the apostolic churches and the troublous times in which they lived, alone, prevented their organization as diocesan churches — Jacob replies: "We urge from the state of the apostolic churches, nothing but what is genuine in them, [fundamental and essential] and ought to be perpetual in us; so that neither the 'troublesomeness' of those times, nor the 'young age' of the churches then, do give us our advantage; for, notwithstanding the peculiar circumstances of the apostolic churches, they might just as well have been organized and governed as diocesan and provincial churches, if Christ had so instituted, and the apostles had so framed and left them; and it is impiety to say, Christ's churches were imperfect then, as touching their visible form and constitution, their ministry, and the lawful order of worshipping God in them."

Of the general principles advocated by him, he says: "The very papists do see and acknowledge this that I say, viz.: both that these grounds of the Scriptures absolute perfection in all ecclesiastical matters (whereon we exactly do stand) are the true and right principles of the protestants' religion; and also that the diocesan lord bishops do, and must needs turn away from these principles and deny them when they deal with us; and must join

plainly with the catholics in their answers, if they will maintain themselves." — P. 73.

In reply to the charge of schism, brought against the Separatists, Jacob says: "' Not the separation, but the *cause* maketh a schismatic.' Wherefore it behoveth all wise men to see where the cause is. 1, Then, we affirm and prove, that our adversaries themselves do cause or make the schism, which indeed is amongst us; for the apostle saith, they make schisms who teach [anything] besides the doctrine which the apostles left us, and they ought to be avoided, Rom. xvi. 17. Now, our adversaries do teach and urge all their forenoted traditions, most evidently *besides* the apostles' doctrine and ordinances; yea, verily, *contrary* with them, as before we have showed; whereby it is manifest, who are indeed the schismatics, and to be refused." — P. 77.

Jacob's doctrine of councils, or synods, is such as modern Congregationalists would receive without much qualification: "It is true, besides the magistrates' honorable assistance, very often there is great and singular, yea, sometimes in a sort necessary help to be had by synods; which are meetings of choice men out of many churches; and these are lesser or greater, as occasion requireth; whose counsels, advices, and determinations are most expedient and wholesome always. But, touching any certain government by synods, or necessary imposing of their synodal conclusions, decrees, or canons, upon churches, without their

particular, free consents, this seemeth to be a mere human ordinance. I cannot find it (either expressly or by necessary consequence) in any part of Christ's 'Testament.' — P. 31.

During the same year in which the above work appeared, Mr. Jacob published another, entitled: "A Position against Vain-glorious, and that which is falsely called Learned Preaching." This was designed to expose and bring into contempt the quibbling and scholastic method of preaching much in vogue at that time.*

In 1606 appeared from the same active pen, "A Christian and Modest Offer of a most indifferent Conference, or Disputation, about the main and principal controversies betwixt the prelates and the silenced and deprived ministers in England; tendered by some of the said ministers, to the archbishops and bishops, and all their adherents." † This offer, Jacob says, "the chiefest prelates, Canterbury, London, Winchester and Lincoln — expressly refused at Lambeth, in the presence of sundry silenced and imprisoned ministers, being called about that little book which was newly published, even for that purpose."

This offer for a fair conference, on the part of the puritan ministers, was occasioned by the severe measures pursued by Bancroft, after the adoption and ratification of the merciless canons of the

* *Wilson's Dissenting Churches, in London, etc.*, vol. I. p. 38.

† *Hanbury*, I. 222.

convention of 1603-5, requiring absolute conformity to every minutiae of the hierarchal ritual. Hundreds of learned, faithful and godly ministers were silenced or deprived, and many were excommunicated, cast into prison, or driven into banishment, by these canons.*

Mr. Jacob's next publication is of special interest and value, being probably "the very first composition ever addressed to authority" in favor of liberty of conscience and general religious toleration.† It is an address to king James, entitled: "An Humble Supplication for Toleration, and Liberty to enjoy and observe the Ordinances of Jesus Christ, in the administration of his churches, in lieu of Human Constitutions, 1609."‡ The substance of this petition is : —

* *Neal* reckons the number of sufferers at "above three hundred." According to *Bancroft's rolls*, "there had been only *forty-five* deprived on all occasions." — *Hist. Pur.*, II. 64 and note. *Heglyn* makes the number *forty-nine*. — *Hist. Presby.*, lib. XI. sect. 10. But a work published in 1698, entitled *Eleutheria, or an Idea of the Reformation in England, etc.*, says: "All mankind then saw no less than *three hundred* ministers, whom the most learned Parker compares to the three hundred soldiers of Gideon, (Judges vii. 7,) all of them, in one particular storm deprived of their ministry and their maintainance, because they could not subscribe to some unlawful impositions." — P. 74. A copy of this rare old work may be found in the Prince Library. *Calderwood* states that "three hundred ministers were silenced, or deprived of their benefices, or excommunicated, or thrown into prison, or compelled to flee the realm." — *Altare Damascenum*, Pref., p. iv., in *Hanbury*, I. 127, note. See *ante*, pp. 272-76.

† *Hanbury*, I. 224-27.

‡ *Id.* I. 226.

“ That, whereas our Lord Jesus Christ hath given to each particular church, or ordinary congregation, this right and privilege, namely, to elect, ordain and deprive her own ministers ; and to exercise all the other parts of lawful ecclesiastical jurisdiction under him, your majesty would be pleased to order, as well that each particular church that shall be allowed to partake in the benefit of the said toleration, may have, enjoy, and put in execution and practice, this, her said right and privilege ; as that some, your subaltern civil officers, may be appointed by you to demand and receive of each church a due and just account of their proceedings.” * This, like all other attempts to induce that pedantic tyrant who then reigned over England to tolerate his loyal, Christian subjects who dissented from his ecclesiastical establishment was entirely abortive.

Mr. Jacob's experience of the workings of the hierarchy of England and his careful studies were gradually bringing him near and nearer to the truth, until about 1610, when he made a journey to Leyden, where he remained for some time, in company with the celebrated Mr. Robert Parker and Dr. Ames. His conferences at this time, with Mr. Robinson, are thought to have established him in the Congregational faith, which he soon after openly professed.† His change of views — or rather the modification of his views — appears

* *Hanbury*, i. 226.

† See Appendix, Note J.

in the works which he published at Leyden, in December of this year, entitled, respectively : "A Plain and Clear Exposition of the Second Commandment"; and "The Divine Beginning and Institution of Christ's true Visible or Ministerial Church. Also the unchangeableness of the same by men; namely, in the Term and essential Constitution thereof."* The main position in this latter work is, that "Christ is the only author, institutor and framer of his visible or ministerial church, touching the constitution, essence, nature and form thereof, everywhere and forever: and that he is the only Lord, and King, and Lawgiver of the same." He defines a true, visible, or ministerial church to be "A number of faithful people, joined by their willing consent in a spiritual outward society or body politic, ordinarily coming together into one place; instituted by Christ in his New Testament; and having the power to exercise ecclesiastical government, and all God's other spiritual ordinances — the means of salvation — in and for itself, immediately from Christ."† This

* *Hanbury*, i. 227.

† It may be well to compare with this definition of a "true, visible or ministerial church," the popular definition of the church, prevalent in those days. Ainsworth tells us, that "Bernarde, in the name of 'all the divines in their church,' yea, if we may believe him, 'of all the reformed churches in Christendom,' telleth us — with a marginal note also, to have it well observed — that 'the true word of God preached, and true sacraments of Christ administered, are infallible tokens of a true church.' I say not (saith he) 'the word' truly 'preached, nor the sacraments

sort of Church government, he admits, "is a certain democracy," inasmuch as it requires that the whole body of the church should give their free consent to all church administrations. But, then, he argues, that such "a popular government as this is, being limited within the bounds of one particular congregation, neither is, never has been, nor can be dangerous to any State: Besides, this government is to be informed, directed and guided by the pastor chiefly, and also the grave elders; and, therefore, this government is not simply and plainly democratical, but partly aristocratical, and partly monarchical; and so it is that mixt government, which the learned do judge to be the best government of all." *

In 1612, Jacob published another work, entitled: "A Declaration and Plainer Opening of Certain Points, with a Sound Confirmation of some other, contained in a Treatise, entitled 'The Divine Beginning, etc.'" This was dated, "Middleburgh, the 4th of Sept. 1611." In this treatise occurs, for the first time it is believed in the writings of these nonconformists, the expression from which they received their name — INDEPENDENTS. He says: "Diocesan and provincial churches have never admitted, nor do admit, the people's free consent in their ordinary government, neither indeed can they

rightly administered; but thus: the true word preached, the true sacraments administered.'" — "Afore Speech to the Christian Reader," in *Ainsworth's Counterpoison*.

* *Hanbury*, i. 228. See similar representation by Robinson, *ante*.

admit it orderly ; it would be in them too troublesome, confused and impossible. Yea, where each ordinary congregation giveth their free consent in their own government, there, certainly, each congregation is an entire and *independent* body politic, and indued with power immediately under and from Christ, as every proper church is, and ought to be." *

While the above extract shows quite plainly that Henry Jacob had at length embraced one at least of the fundamental principles of the system, he was not even yet quite ready to be called a Brownist, or Separatist ; for he says, " Although I know the Separation to be very far off from being so evil as commonly they are held to be, yet I deny not but that in some matters, they are straiter than I wish they were." He refers particularly to their unwillingness to commune with the churches of England ; for he says : " for my part, I never was, nor am separated from all public communion with the congregations of England. I acknowledge that in England are true, visible churches and ministers (though accidentally yet) : such I refuse not to communicate with." But the more rigid Separatists did.

In 1612 or 1613, still another work was published by Jacob, entitled : "An Attestation of many learned, godly and famous Divines, lights of Re-

* *Hanbury*, I. 231. See the same use of the word in Robinson's *Apology*, first published in 1619, *Works*, III. 16. *Hanbury*, I. 874, and note. See *ante*, p. 328.

ligion and pillars of the Gospel, justifying this Doctrine, viz.: 'That the church government ought to be always with the people's consent.' Also this: 'That a true church under the Gospel containeth no more ordinary Congregations but one.' In the discourse whereof, specially Dr. Downman's and also Mr. Bilson's chief matters in their writings against the same, are answered." *

This work is particularly valuable for the collection it contains of the opinions of learned and celebrated men, to the correctness of the positions advanced by Jacob; and for the testimony to the same effect, of the Reformed Churches of Christendom, found in the Confessions of Bohemia, Helvetia, Geneva, Savoy, Scotland, Nassau, the Palatinate, etc.; and for the admissions of even English prelatists when in controversy with the papists.

After the publication of the "Attestation," we lose sight of Mr. Jacob for about three years, during which time he was probably occupied with the care of his church at Middleburgh, to which he seems to have returned after his visit to Leyden in 1610.† But in 1616, we find him again in London, engaged in the important work of organizing a church after the Leyden pattern. Repeated efforts had been previously made to establish Con-

* *Young's Chronicles*, 489, note; *Hanbury*, I. 281-86.

† *Brook*, II. 332. He was certainly there in September, 1611, for he dates his "Declaration and Plainer Opening," at Middleburgh, Sept. 1611. — *Hanbury*, I. 280.

gregationalism in London ; but, they had all failed, through the violence of episcopal persecution.* But now it was thought that the time had come for another determined effort to reëstablish the apostolic system of church government in the metropolis of England. And if so, Henry Jacob was undoubtedly the man to lead in such an enterprise. A man of sound learning, devoted piety, great discretion and long experience, who had thoroughly studied the whole subject of church polity, and slowly, but fully come to embrace the system long advocated by the judicious Robinson and his worthy associates — surely, no better man could be found for the work, unless it was Robinson himself. But, though the undertaking had been well-considered by himself and his associates and friends in Holland, Mr. Jacob seems not to have been willing to take this important step without consultation with some of the more devoted and influential English puritans. He therefore sought the advice of such men as Mr. Throgmorton, Mr. Wring, Mr. Mansel, Mr. Dod, Mr. Hildersham, and other eminent divines.† The puri-

* See *ante*, vol. II. 250 *et seq.*, and chap. 10 entire.

† Job Throgmorton was a zealous and active puritan ; “as holy and as choice a preacher as any in England.” He was suspected of being one of the Marprelate writers, and was tried for the offence ; but acquitted. He died in 1628. — *Brook*, II. 861-62.

John Dod was one of the most devout, learned, useful puritan ministers of his time ; but a great sufferer for nonconformity ; having been questioned in the bishop’s court several times ; once silenced ; once suspended from his ministry ; and exposed to re-

tans generally were quite averse to separate church organizations; and, as the course of this history pretty plainly shows, strenuously opposed the movements of the Separatists in this direction. They had deplored and denounced the corruptions of the established church, and sought by all means in their power to secure a reformation from within the establishment, but had regarded separation as a schism and a sin. The arbitrary, corrupt and persecuting character of James' government seems, however, to have convinced some of them, that there was no longer any ground of hope for a reformation from within the church of England; and though not, perhaps, quite prepared to go into separate church organizations themselves, they could not longer condemn the act in others; and Mr. Jacob proceeded, under the countenance of leading puritans, to organize an Independent, or Congregational church in London.*

peated house searchings, and the spoiling of his goods. He was born about 1540. — *Brook*, III. 1-6.

Dr. Francis Mansel was at one time principal of Jesus College. He was among the ejected ministers in 1648. — *Neal*, III. 452. I am not confident, however, that this was the Mansel consulted by Mr. Jacob.

Rev. Arthur Hildersham, called by Fuller "a heavenly divine," was a great sufferer for nonconformity; having been suspended and put to silence by the high commissioners no less than four times; and thus kept, in all, nearly twenty years. He was born in 1568, and died in 1631. — *Neal*, I. 479; II. 245.

* *Neal's Hist. Pur.*, II. 126. *Hanbury* says: "When he [Jacob] returned from abroad, we have not discovered, nor have we been successful in finding the authority for what is related of his pro-

There were many hearty Congregationalists in the city at that time; not unlikely some who had been familiar with Barrowe, and Greenwood, and Penry, the martyrs; and some of the scattered remnants of Mr. Johnson's church; altogether, an ample number to constitute a new church. We know not how many, exactly; though evidently a considerable number. The only names which have come down to us, are those of Staismore or Staesmore, Browne, Prior, Almey, Throughton or Froughton, Allen, Gilbert or Gibbert, Farre and Goodal. These brave men, with others, men and women, met together in a private house, at Southwark, on the southern bank of the Thames, and observed a day of fasting and prayer for Divine direction in their important undertaking. Towards the close of the solemnity, satisfied that they had the approval of the great Head of the Church, each person present made open profession of his faith in Christ; and then, standing together, joined hands and entered into solemn covenant with each other and with a covenant-keeping God, to walk together in all the ways and ordinances of religion

ceedings concerning the conference with friends which led to the ultimate resolution of setting up a "separate congregation," etc. — Vol. 1. p. 292. *Neal* was not likely to make this statement without good authority. He had manuscript materials in his hands which have not been published. *Brook*, generally a very careful writer, adopts this account without hesitation. — Vol. 11. p. 333. *Mr. Felt* says, that *Jacob*, "in this step, had the approbation of *Hildersham*, who was concealed to escape imprisonment." — *Ecc. Hist. New Eng.*, 1. 17. Boston, 1855.

revealed to them in God's most holy word. With these simple, but expressive ceremonies were the persecuted Congregationalists of London once more gathered and bound together in a Christian church. On that, or a subsequent day, this little band of brethren, after further fasting and prayer, made choice of Henry Jacob for their pastor, and elected deacons, and probably elders,* and thus completed their organization as an independent church of Christ.

Thus was this goodly vine transplanted to her native soil again; there to live and thrive—to send out her boughs unto the sea and her branches unto the river—bidding defiance to the boar out of the woods to waste her, and the wild beasts of the field to devour her. Thus was organized Congregationalism reestablished among the graves of its martyrs, to become, in spite of the long-continued and fierce opposition of its enemies, a permanent and mighty agency in the kingdom.

* *Neal*, II. 126; *Hanbury*, I. 292; *Robinson's Works*, III. 444-46, compared with 384.

Stairsmore, one of the original members of this church, was afterwards a member of Mr. Robinson's church in Leyden. See Letter from the Leyden church to the church in London. *Robinson's Works*, III. 382-85. He returned to London, and seems to have been interested with Francis Blackwell, who at one time was connected with Mr. Johnson's church at Amsterdam, in a plan for removing to Virginia. A meeting held by them, ("I take it a fast," says Bradford,) was discovered, and Blackwell was apprehended; and to get himself out of difficulty, betrayed Stairsmore, who was apprehended and imprisoned. See his letter to John Carver, in *Bradford's Hist.*, 39-40. Mass. Hist. Soc.'s ed.

This church is generally spoken of as the "first Independent church in England;" and Mr. Jacob, as the first Independent minister. This may have been the first church in England which was called by that name; and Mr. Jacob the first minister; though Edwards says, that there was an Independent church at Duckenfield, near Stockport, Cheshire county, of earlier date; which was organized before any of the exiles had returned from Holland.* But, however this may be, neither of these churches can claim to be the first English church organized on essentially Independent principles. The name by which these advocates of Congregationalism were known in England was now indeed changed from Separatists, Barrowists, and Brownists, to Independents; but the essential principles of church organization and government advocated by all of them were the very same: They maintained that a church might be organized independently of pope or prelate, prince or presbytery; and be complete in itself for all the purposes of church organization, and dependent only on Christ, the Great Head of the Church, and accountable to him alone for its faith and practice. This was the doctrine of the Gainsboro' and the Scrooby churches. This, for substance, was Separatism. This was Barrowism. This was Brownism. On these general principles were organized the English churches in Germany, during the reign of

* *Gangrena*, part III. p. 165. .

Queen Mary ; as was also "the secret congregation of God's people," who maintained a precarious existence in England amidst the fires of that gloomy reign.* And more than all this, essentially the same principles were embraced by the Christian organizations of the persecuted Lollards of a still earlier date.†

The only important particular in which Congregationalists, so called, differ from Independents, is in the greater use which the former make of councils and synods, and the closer fellowship of the churches ; while the Independents differ from the Separatists and Brownists mainly in recognizing the existence of Christian churches among the congregations of the church of England, and in allowing occasional intercommunion between these different bodies. They all may, with propriety, be called Congregationalists, for they all believed that a single *congregation* of Christian people might be a church, complete, lacking nothing ; and it was from the enunciation of this belief that the denomination, in after years, derived the title of CONGREGATIONALISTS.

* See *ante*, vol. II. chaps. 10, 11.

† *Ante*, vol. I. chaps. 8-14 ; particularly the first and last.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CONFESSION AND PROTESTATION OF MR. JACOB'S CHURCH, 1616. — HIS MINISTRY ENDED IN 1624. — EMIGRATES TO VIRGINIA. — JOHN LOTHROP SUCCEEDS HIM. — PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH. — BANISHMENT TO NEW ENGLAND. — THE BAPTISTS SEPARATE. — MIXED COMMUNION. — ANOTHER CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN LONDON, 1621. — CONGREGATIONALISTS WORSHIP WITH OPEN DOORS, 1640-41.

THE church organized by Mr. Jacob lost no time in publishing to the world "A Confession and Protestation" of their faith, accompanied by "An Humble Petition to the king's majesty for toleration therein."* In these publications they distinctly avow the particulars in which they dissent from the church of England, as well as those in which they agree with her; and assign their reasons for adopting an independent church organization so unlike the English establishment. They declare their belief, that Christ's kingly and prophetic offices, even in outward religious matters, are absolute and perfect. They acknowledge the all-sufficiency of the Scriptures in relation to

* *Harbury*, I. 298-306.

all "outward matters spiritual," (which the church of England then distinctly denied,) and that the special form of Christ's visible church and the particular government of it were of Divine institution. They aver that the nature of Christ's true, visible, political church under the gospel is "a free congregation of Christians, for the service of God"; having "the right and power of spiritual administration and government in itself and over itself, by the common and free consent of the people, independently, and immediately under Christ, always in the best order they can." They acknowledge "that on occasion, there ought to be a consociation of congregations, or churches; but not a subordination; or surely not, a subjection of the congregations under any higher spiritual authority, absolute, save only Christ's and the holy Scriptures." No such church as a catholic, or universal church politic, or a national, provincial, or diocesan church, say they, is found in apostolic times; "only a free congregation, or ordinary assembly, is found in the New Testament." They reject the office, calling, power and administration of lord archbishops, bishops, diocesan and provincial, with all their inferior hierarchy, as contrary to the ecclesiastical order and ordinance of Christ, established in the New Testament; and declare it not to be communicated with. They say: "We believe that the essence of ministers' calling under the gospel is the congregation's consent;" and "a minister, so reputed, without any particular flock, is indeed

no minister"; and "the true administering of the holy censures, to be by the congregation's consent also." "Touching the power and authority in church government" of pastors, they say, "We believe — whether they be in each church single or more than one — they have nothing more than what the congregation doth commit unto them, and which they may, when need requireth, take away from them; yea, to their utter deposing, and also rejection out of the church itself, if such necessity be;" yet they declare, that each proper pastor may, and ought to be trusted by the congregation with the managment of all its ecclesiastical affairs and government; "yet so, that in matters of weight, the whole congregation do first understand thereof before anything be finished," and give their assent to the same. Though they admit that a Form of Prayer is not absolutely, nor simply a sin, nor a transgression of the second commandment — as some of the earlier Separatists held — yet, they declare their belief, that "a prescribed liturgy, by commandment enforced upon a whole church, to be used still in the very same words, wheresoever they assemble, in comparison with other praying, is not so profitable, but rather hurtful in many uses of it, as making holy zeal, true piety, sincere godliness, and other gifts of God's Spirit, in many of them, to languish." "The New Testament teacheth no such matter," say they, "neither troubleth itself with endeavoring an uniformity in this point; but leaveth all churches

herein to their godly liberty," etc. "Besides, such prescribed liturgies were never used, in any manner, among Christians, till late after Christ: The soonest was after three hundred years." They deny that any holy days are prescribed in the Gospel, except the Lord's day; though they admit the lawfulness of observing occasional thanksgiving and fast days, on special occasions. "Concerning making of marriage, or burying the dead," they say: "We believe that they are no actions of a Christian minister, because they are no actions spiritual, but civil." They held that the support of the ministry and the relief of the poor ought to be by free and voluntary offerings, made every Lord's day, as God had prospered every one.

It was for a church organized and administered on principles like the above, that these good men prayed his majesty for the privilege of meeting in public places in peace, under royal protection. This was all that the Congregationalists ever asked of government; declaring that such a grant would be the greatest blessing and benefit which their hearts could desire, or that could come unto them.

Not content with their "Confession and Protestation," and "Humble Petition," the church, or rather their pastor, published, simultaneously with the above, "A Collection of Sundry Matters, tending to prove it necessary for all persons actually to walk in the use and practice of the Substantial Ordinances in the Gospel, appointed by God for

his Visible Church spiritually political," etc.* A leading design of this work seems to have been, to meet objections, and answer inquiries relating to the faith of this newly-organized church. In answer to the inquiry, by what warrant their ministers acted, it is said: that the best and only true answer is, that it is "by the free consent of the several congregations." And in relation to the objection, that a church organized on their principles, without officers or guides, could do nothing, with order, the reply is: "In the church under the gospel, order is two fold. First, there is an essential order; secondly, there is an order accidental. It is possible that some order accidental may be wanting in a true church, such as officers and persons in constant authority are. This order, also, is called 'integral'; because officers and guides do make the church state entire and complete. But, without this, there may be essential order in a church: that is, where, upon just cause, two or three at the least are joined together, in the name and for the service of Christ, in one place; using in all their purposes, their free consent, in so peaceable and comely a manner as they can. This is essential order in a church of the gospel. And, according to this only, they may and must sometimes administer such holy things as are instantly necessary among them: and namely, the making of a minister for themselves, if a former minister be wanting to them." †

* *Hanbury*, i. 806.† *Hanbury*, i. 808.

But all their Confessions and Protestations and Explanations did not avail to secure peace or toleration for this poor church. Bonds, and imprisonment, and banishment, threatened them for every exercise of their Christian liberty as a church. Nevertheless, they persevered in maintaining their organization, and in holding their meetings; though compelled to meet in private places, and to shift from place to place, to avoid spies and informers.

Mr. Jacob remained in the pastorate of this church for about eight years, until 1624, when, hoping to increase his usefulness, he emigrated to Virginia, where he soon died, aged sixty-one years.*

The Rev. John Lothrop, or Lothrope, succeeded Mr. Jacob. All history gives this man an excellent character. He was probably educated at Cambridge, and was beneficed at Egerton, in Kent; but, renouncing his episcopal ordination, he early cast in his lot with this persecuted church, and became its second pastor, about the year 1624.

Near this time, the church, weary of hiding it-

* *Brook*, II. 383; *Wilson's Dissenting Churches*, I. 40.

Henry Jacob "left behind him a son of both his names, who was afterwards fellow of Merton College, a prodigy for curious learning." — *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. II., cols. 8-10, and III. 829, gives a full and interesting account of this singular person. He died in 1662, aged about 45 years, and left behind him but little to commemorate his genius and learning. He was "entirely devoted to literary pursuits; but totally ignorant of the world. Was innocent, harmless and careless, and lived principally on the benefactions of friends, particularly the celebrated Mr. Selden." — *Brook*, II. 383.

self in secret places, began to show itself more openly. This it continued to do for some time; but at length was interrupted by Tomlinson, the bishop of London's pursuivant, at the house of Mr. Humphrey Barnet, a brewer's clerk, in Blackfriars, on the 29th of April, 1632, and forty-two persons, including their pastor, were apprehended; only eighteen escaping. The prisoners were confined in different prisons in London, for about two years. They were then released on bail, except Mr. Lothrop, for whom no favor could be obtained. In the meantime, his wife sickened and died, leaving a number of children. At length Mr. Lothrop petitioned the king for release, and his motherless children laid their lamentable case at the feet of Archbishop Laud, praying for the poor privilege of going into banishment with their father, as a condition of his release. These petitions finally prevailed, and the good man was set free, and with about thirty of his flock retired to New England, in 1634. He arrived in the ship Griffin, on the 18th of September, and immediately united with the Plymouth church. In November, however, he and most of his friends took their dismissal from that church, to constitute the first church of Scituate. Mr. Lothrop continued at Scituate until 1639, when, with a majority of the church, he removed to Barnstable, where he remained to the day of his death, November 3d, 1654.*

* *Brook*, III. 163; *Wilson's Diss. Chhs.*, I. 40; *Felt's Hist. N. E.*, vol. I. pp. 216, 361, 398; II. 115; *Winthrop's New England*, vol. I. p. 148; *Savage's edition*. Boston, 1825.

It was near the close of Mr. Lothrop's pastorate that the Baptists, who had before been mingled with the Congregationalists in church fellowship, began to talk of separate organizations. The controversy on this subject was introduced, curiously enough, by members who seem to have been over-scrupulous pedobaptists. One of these, doubting the validity of the ordinance as administered by Mr. Lothrop, carried his child to the parish church to be rebaptized.* This, naturally enough, gave much offence, and occasioned a discussion on the question — whether the parish churches were true churches. This question was finally brought to a vote in general church meeting, and the majority refused to record any expression of opinion, at that time — whether or not parish congregations were true churches. This offended several of the more rigid members, who regarded the action of the church as a virtual renunciation of the principles of Separatism, though it certainly was not of the principles of their first pastor. With these disaffected ones, united a number of persons in the church who entertained doubts of the lawfulness of all baptism administered to infants — together making a considerable number of dissatisfied members, who finally decided to ask for dismissals from the church, for the purpose of being organized as a distinct body, on principles more agreeable to their views of Christian right and church order.

* *Brook*, III. 164.

The church, considering that their number was already so large as to render it inconvenient and unsafe, in those perilous times, to meet all together for worship; and believing, also, that the dissenting brethren were actuated by conscientious convictions, and not by a spirit of obstinacy; cheerfully consented that the brethren who desired it should be dismissed, and constitute a distinct church. Accordingly, on the 12th of September, 1633, twenty or more persons were organized into a new church, and became the first Calvinistic Baptist Church in England.* They chose Mr. John Spillsbury for their pastor; settled themselves at Wapping; and were for many years a prosperous and united church. Ultimately they divided on the question of mixed communion of baptists and pedobaptists;† which had hitherto been practised by them and the church from which they came.

The majority of Mr. Lothrop's church remained firm in their pedobaptist and independent principles; renewed their covenant, "to walk together in the ways of God, so far as He had made them known or should make them known to them, and forsake all false ways;" and continued to maintain their identity as a church, and to prosper, amidst all the persecutions to which they were exposed; so that it is recorded to their honor, that "so steady were they to their vows, that hardly an

* *Brook*, III. 164; *Crosby's Hist. Eng. Baptists*, I. 148; *Wilson's Diss. Chhs.*, I. 40; *Neal's Hist. Pur.*, II. 399-400.

† *Brook*, III. 184.

instance can be produced of one that departed to the church [of England] even under the severest persecution." *

The learned and distinguished Rev. Henrie Jacie, or Henry Jessey, as his name is usually written,† succeeded Mr. Lothrop as pastor of this church, in 1637. He was a graduate of St. John's College, Cambridge, and was a scholar of much repute, particularly for his knowledge of Hebrew, Syriac, and Chaldee, and for his familiarity with the writings of the rabins. He received episcopal ordina-

* *Brook*, III. 164; *Neal*, II. 400.

† In the *Winthrop Papers*, published by the Mass. Hist. Soc., are several letters from "Henrie Jacie," to Gov. Winthrop, and to his son, Mr. John Winthrop, Jr. — Vol. I. pp. 452-66. In one of these Mr. Jacie refers to his connection with Mr. Lothrop's church. After speaking of Sir Matthew Boynton's family and the troubles which they had encountered, he says: "As for me, the Lord having discovered the necessity and beauty of being under Christ's government, and refrained sometime, hoping the last spring to have come with them to New England; now seeing they are yet stayed and are like to stay, I know not how long, till they be satisfied, I could not be so content, though I enjoyed so great priviledges there, bodily and spiritual: but having been sued unto and often provoked by that society where Mr. Lathr [op] was, and long sought, and at last obtained full satisfaction for uniting unto them, the Lord removing divers lets, and providing so well for the place I supplied, I am now come to London, to them, though not undertaking any office, though now urged to it, desiring first to hear from some in New England, to whom I wrote about half a year ago." — P. 460. This letter bears date "London, 6th month, 18th day." The same letter gives an interesting account of the sufferings of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick." — August 18th, 1637. See *Mass. Hist. Soc's. Col.*, 2d series, vol. I. p. 165.

tion, and accepted the living of Aughton, near York, in 1633 ; but was ejected the year following, for his nonconformity ; and, after being a private chaplain in Yorkshire for a year or two, moved to London in 1635 ; and in 1637, after considerable solicitation, and much hesitation on his part—having in contemplation a removal to New England, with his patron, Sir Matthew Boynton—accepted the pastorate of the Congregational church in London.

Mr. Jacie and his congregation were subjected to much persecution for some three years. In February 21, 1637–8, the larger part of them were arrested at Queenhithe, and carried off by the bishops' pursuivants. In May following, they were subjected to a similar disturbance in another place ; and on the 22d of April, 1641, the pastor and five of his congregation were seized by the Lord Mayor of London, and committed to the Compter prison, in Wood street ; but they were soon released on appealing to parliament.

During Mr. Jacie's pastorate, the subject of baptism was much agitated in his church ; and at different times members left and united with the Baptists. In 1640, the church divided equally and harmoniously, the one part remaining with Mr. Jacie, and the other choosing Rev. Praise-God Barbone, a Baptist, as their pastor. Finally, Mr. Jacie himself, in 1645, embraced baptist sentiments, so far as the mode and subjects of baptism were concerned ; though he ever maintained open

communion, and not only admitted pedobaptists to occasional communion, but had always some in his church.*

During the latter part of his ministry, after the Restoration, Mr. Jacie suffered severely for his principles. In 1660 he was ejected and silenced. In 1661, he was seized and confined a month; and in the following year, he was apprehended again, and confined six months. On the 4th of September, 1663, he was released from his troubles and entered into his rest, aged sixty-three years. He died full of peace and joy. His death was greatly lamented by persons of different religious persuasions, several thousands of whom attended his funeral.†

Besides the church gathered by Mr. Jacob, in 1616, there appears to have been another, organized in Southwark, in 1621 — a colony, it is likely,

* The kindly, charitable spirit of this good man is exhibited in a letter written to Gov. Winthrop, dated March 6th, 1647, in which Mr. Jacie says: "Though at present I am much straightened in time, yet I would not omit, though but abruptly, to manifest my respects to you, who have writ more to me about pedobaptism than any from New England; and though therein at present we agree not, yet meeting in Jesus Christ, our Centre, the Way, we shall come to the end of our faith: and I rejoice that the day draws nigh, when the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, and then, when our dross and stubble shall be consumed, we shall see, each of us, what is amiss, and know what is truth." — *Winthrop Papers*, I. 465.

† *Crosby*, I. 307-20; *Neal*, IV. 434-37; *Wilson's Diss. Chks.*, I. 41-46; *Brook*, III. 399; *Hanbury*, I. 298, note.

from Mr. Jacob's church. Their first pastor was the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, or Herbert, a learned divine, who had been episcopally ordained, but had left the established church and joined the Independents. The violence of the times, probably, induced this church, not long after its organization, to emigrate in a body, with their pastor, to Ireland. On the death of Mr. Hubbard, the church returned to England, and settled about London, and chose the Rev. John Canne, author of the marginal references to the Bible, as their pastor. But persecution drove Mr. Canne and a number of his church to Holland, after a year or two; and there he died.* Mr. Samuel Howe was their next pastor. Though a layman, and "a cobbler by trade," he was a man of good natural abilities, eminently familiar with the Scriptures, and made the church a most excellent pastor for some seven years. During all this time the members were continually exposed to persecution, and Mr. Howe himself was finally arrested, excommunicated, and imprisoned, for no other crime than that of Independency. He died in prison, about 1640. The violence of his enemies did not cease with his life; for the parish church authorities forbade his burial in the parish grave-yard, and appointed a guard to defend it. His friends found a resting place for the body in a piece of ground at Agnesla Clair, or Anniseed Clear; where several of Mr. Howe's congregation,

* See *ante*, p. 230.

at their own request, and in token of their affection for him, were afterwards buried by his side.* According to Crosby, Mr. Howe was a baptist, though his predecessors were all pedobaptists. This church seems to have allowed of mixed communion, almost or quite from the first.

Mr. Stephen More, who had been a deacon of this church for some years, succeeded Mr. Howe as pastor. He was a man of excellent reputation, and of considerable ministerial ability. He possessed a handsome property, which, with his liberty, if not his life, he imperilled by the acceptance of this pastorate. But God so ordered public affairs, that the prelatical power of persecution was curtailed soon after Mr. More entered on his pastoral duties; and this bold, good man lived to preach to his little flock with open doors, into which all who would, could enter and hear the gospel in its primitive simplicity and plainness. Their first open meeting was held on the 18th of January, 1640-41, in Deadman's Place, Southwark. Their services were, however, soon interrupted by the constables and the church wardens of St. Saviour's church, and some sixty-six of the congregation were committed to the Clink prison, and several of them were afterwards arraigned at the bar of the House

* Crosby, I. 164; Neal, II. 401; Brook, II. 456. Roger Williams, in his *Hireling Ministry*, bears the following testimony to Mr. Howe's worth: "I cannot but with honorable testimony remember that eminent Christian witness and prophet of Christ, even that despised and yet beloved Samuel Howe." — In Brook, *ut sup.*

of Lords. They were there charged with denying the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters ; and with holding separate meetings, in which the Common Prayer was not used, contrary to the statute, 35 Elizabeth. They admitted the truth of the second charge ; but, in answer to the first, boldly declared, that they could acknowledge no other head of the church but Jesus Christ ; and that in their judgment no prince on earth had authority to make laws to bind the conscience ; that such laws were contrary to the laws of God, and ought not to be obeyed. But they utterly disowned all foreign power and jurisdiction. Notwithstanding this bold confession, the prisoners were let off without further punishment ; and the next Lord's day, their assembly was honored with the presence of three or four English peers, who went to learn more fully the mode of worship practised, and the principles professed by these Congregationalists. The church went on with their worship as usual, to the end ; and the peers left at the close of the service, after contributing liberally for the poor of the church, expressing their satisfaction with what they had heard and seen, and their inclination to visit them again.* A second visit, however, they

* *Crosby's Hist. Bap.*, i. 161-64 ; *Hanbury*, i. 293 ; ii. 65-68, 270 ; *Neal*, ii. 399-462 ; *Brook*, ii. 382, 456-59 ; iii. 899, 517.

I have harmonized as well as I could, the various authorities relative to the London Congregationalists and their pastors after 1616, to about 1640. Mr. Neal's account represents Mr. Canne as the successor of Mr. Lothrop ; and Mr. Howe and Mr. More, as

did not venture to make, their first having occasioned so great a stir.

Having now briefly given the history of the restoration and permanent establishment of Congregationalism in the city of London, we must retrace our steps, and note the progress of the denomination in connection with the mother church, which we left in the city of Leyden.

his successors, in the care of Mr. Jacob's church But it seems well settled that Mr. Jacie (Jessey) succeeded Mr. Lothrop, in 1637, and continued in the pastorate during the very years that Mr. Howe and Mr. More are said to have been its pastors. The discrepancy is removed by accepting Crosby's statement, that a *second* Independent church was organized at Southwark, in 1621, of which Mr. Hubbard was the first pastor, which emigrated to Ireland, and on the death of their pastor returned to London, and had Messrs. Canne, Howe and More, successively, for pastors.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SCROOBY CHURCH AT LEYDEN. — MOVEMENTS TOWARDS EMIGRATION, 1617. — REMOVAL TO AMERICA, 1620. — THE FIRST CHRISTIAN COLONY IN NEW ENGLAND ESTABLISHED.

WE left the Scrooby church, consisting of about one hundred men and women, in 1609, quietly settled in the "fair and beautiful city" of Leyden, in the Netherlands. Here they lived unmolested, in the enjoyment of their religious rights and privileges, for about twelve years. Though in a strange city, among people of a strange tongue, and amidst scenes and circumstances altogether strange to them; yet, by a cheerful adaptation of themselves to their new position, by honest and humble industry, by "hard and continued labor" in various trades and callings — these Christian exiles soon succeeded in obtaining "a competent and comfortable living in Leyden."* And here they

* In Leyden, the male members of Mr. Robinson's church seem to have devoted themselves very generally to trades of various kinds. The public records of Leyden, which have been kept for centuries with great care, furnish the occupation of forty-eight of these good men. Five of them are registered as merchants, and one as a physician; all the others, as manufacturers and mechanics, as follows: Silk workers, 9; Fustian makers, 4; Wool card-

"lived together in peace, and love, and holiness ; and many came unto them from divers parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation." * Their honesty and diligence in business won the confidence of their Dutch neighbors, so that they were ready not only to employ them in preference to others, but to aid them by loans of money and in other ways. Their peaceable and consistent lives as Christians, the eminent ability, learning and piety of their reverend pastor, and their kindly and charitable recognition of all the reformed churches — Dutch, French and Scottish — contributed to confirm their favorable position in the land of their exile.

The high estimation in which their pastor was held appears from the fact, that Polyander, the professor of divinity in the university, and the chief preachers of the city selected Mr. Robinson as the ablest defender of Calvinism, against the

ers, 7 ; Bombazine makers, 3 ; Say (or Serge) makers, 3 ; Printers, 3 ; Block makers, 2 ; Ribbon weavers, 2 ; Hatters, 2 ; Pump makers, 1 ; Masons, 1 ; Baise workers, 1 ; Tailors, 1 ; Carpenters, 1 ; Smiths, 1. The occupation of quite a number of them is not recorded. — "*H. C. M.*" in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. III. pp. 262-63, and 358-59. Ann., 1859. See *ante*, p. 300-301, and notes.

* *Bradford's Hist.*, 16-21 ; Winslow in *Young's Chronicles*, 380, 392-96 ; and *Bradford's Dialogue*, 455-56. From Bradford, we learn that the Leyden Congregation, when in its most prosperous state, numbered nearly or quite three hundred persons. — *Young*, 86, note. *Palfrey* suggests, that at the time of the embarkation of the pilgrims for New England, the Leyden church "amounted to scarcely more than two hundred of both sexes and all ages." — *Hist. N. E.*, I. 142, note.

great Arminian champion, Episcopus;* and from the act of the University, in 1615, in admitting Mr. Robinson as "a subject"; an honor which exempted him from the control of the town magistrates, and conferred on him sundry privileges.† The same honor was conferred on William Brewer, Elder Brewster's partner in the printing business.‡ A few of the congregation were also honored with the grant of citizenship in Leyden.§ From the magistrates of the city, as such, however, the church received little if anything more than toleration and protection; which, indeed, was all that they asked. There is no evidence that they ever sought for any pecuniary aid from the magistrates, though aid was given to all who asked for it; or that they even requested that a church edifice should be allotted to them, as was done for the English Presbyterian church, which was contemporary with them in Leyden.|| Mr. Robinson and

* *Ante*, p. 819, *Bradford*, 20, 21; *Winslow*, 892.

† Mr. Geo. Sumner's *Memoirs of the Pilgrims at Leyden*, pp. 18-19. Among other privileges, this honor entitled Mr. Robinson to receive every month, free of town and State duties, half a tun of beer; and every three months, about ten gallons of wine!

‡ *Hist. Mag.*, IV. 4.

§ *Ib.* III. 263. Wm. Bradford, Isaac Allerton, and Degory (or Digarie) Priest were among the number.

|| *Sumner's Memoirs*, 10, 12, 18, and note A, p. 24. The Rev. Robert Durie was the first pastor of the English Presbyterian church at Leyden, from 1609 to 1616. The chapel of the Catherine's Almshouse was occupied by them until 1622; they then removed to the Jerusalem Hof, where they worshipped until 1644;

his church went to Leyden with the honest determination to be burdensome to no one; and they nobly maintained their determination. They believed in the independency of the church of State control, and in the obligation of its members to support the institutions of religion by voluntary contributions; and their practice corresponded with their faith. The church probably worshipped in the pastor's house during its continuance in Leyden. This appears to have been large and commodious, and was selected and purchased probably with reference to this very accommodation. It was owned by Mr. Robinson and three of his congregation.*

when they removed again, to the Falyde Bagyn Hof, which they occupied until 1807.

* *Mr. Sumner says*: "I am myself convinced that no regular church [edifice] was granted them, and I am disposed to believe that their religious assemblies were held in some hired hall, or in the house of Robinson, their pastor;" and quotes Cardinal Bentivoglio, as saying, that "the public exercises of religion were not permitted in the cities to any sect but the Calvinists," and that "the exercises of all others are permitted in private houses which are in fact as if public, the places of preaching being spacious, and of sufficient size for any assembly." — Pp. 12-18. Mr. Robinson's house was large enough to accommodate the whole congregation, as we learn from Winslow's Narrative in *Young*, 384. Dr. Dexter, in his recent visit to Leyden, was able to settle on the exact spot where this house stood; and procured a copy of the deed by which the property was conveyed to Mr. Robinson and three other persons. From the price paid for it, 8,000 florins, equal to about \$8,200 — equivalent to some \$12,800 at the present time — it is evident that it was a valuable estate. It was in the heart of the city, near the cathedral of St. Peter's and the University. It was twenty-five feet six inches wide on the street, and had

If, as has been supposed and intimated, there was any wariness on the part of the Leyden magistrates towards the Separatists, the reason is suggested by Bradford, when he tells us, that had it not been for "giving offence to the State of England," the Dutch would have allowed them "some public favor."* The fact was, that the government of the Netherlands was under obligations to the English, who held several Dutch fortresses as pledges for the payment of money loaned by Elizabeth without interest; and in these "cautionary towns," English garrisons were maintained. This gave the English government an influence in Dutch affairs, which it might not otherwise have had—agreeably to the proverb, "The borrower is servant to the lender"—and furnished it an excuse for intermeddling—sometimes in a very petty and vexatious way—with matters beyond its proper cognizance. Thus, James took part in the quarrel between the Gormorists and Remonstrants, and obtained the banishment of Vortius, successor to Arminius.† Thus,

attached to it in the rear a garden. The house was occupied by Mr. Robinson as long as he lived. It was taken down about 1680-82; and the ground is now occupied by the Walloon church, as an Old Man's Home. Dr. Dexter caused to be inserted in the front of the present building, a marble slab, with the words, "HERE JOHN ROBINSON LIVED, AND TAUGHT, AND DIED, 1609-1625." The deed of the house may be found in *Historical Magazine*, III. 881-88, with sundry interesting particulars about the house.

* *Bradford*, 21.

† *Broadhead's Hist. of New York*, p. 106-9.

by the efforts of the English ambassador, under instructions from his government, Dr. Ames was driven from the English church at the Hague, was prevented from being chosen professor of divinity at Leyden, and efforts were made to prevent his settlement as professor in the university of Franeker; for no fault, but his puritanism. Thus, too, Elder Brewster was watched, and his steps dogged, his printing apparatus and papers seized, and he himself narrowly escaped imprisonment — all to please this same jealous, meddling English government, whose head was James the First.* Having a miserable creature like James to deal with, the Leyden magistrates might reasonably be cautious about showing special favors to men known to be particularly offensive to his majesty. Nevertheless, it is evident that these English exiles were in favor with the citizens of Leyden, and that their foreign home was as pleasant to them as it well could be under the circumstances.

* March 12th, 1612, Archbishop Abbot, wrote to Sir Ralph Winwood, the English ambassador in the Netherlands: "I wish the removing of him [Mr. Ames] to be as privately and as cleanly carried as the matter will permit. We are also acquainted what English preachers are entertained in Zealand, whereunto in convenient time we hope to give a redress." — *Winwood's Memorials*, vol. III. 346-47; *Brook*, II. 405. *Young's Chron. Pilgrims*, pp. 467-68, and note. And at a later period, the same offensive interference of the English government was shown towards John Locke, then a refugee in Holland. — *Lord King's Life of Locke*, in *Sumner's Mems.*, p. 9. See also Archbishop Bancroft's attempt to prejudice the Dutch government against Johnson's Separate church in Amsterdam. — *Ante*, p. 222.

Still, they were strangers and foreigners, among a people of widely different manners and customs from their own, and whose moral and religious notions, too, were quite as unlike theirs; over whom they could exert but little influence, by reason of their different languages; and among whom they were shut up to gradual, but inevitable decay and death; for few Englishmen could be expected to join them, situated as they were, while their own numbers would be thinned by death. Their young men, too, were greatly exposed to corruption, by the licentious habits and the manifold temptations of the place. Some became soldiers, and some sailors, and others fell into "worse courses, tending to dissoluteness and the danger of their souls, to the great grief of their parents and the dishonor of God"; so that they feared that their posterity would become degenerate and corrupt. These things naturally occasioned the exiles much anxiety. But, in addition to all these, there had grown up among these earnest Christians, "a great hope and inward zeal" to propagate and establish the pure gospel and their simple, apostolic principles of church organization, in some remote, unevangelized portion of the New World, which was at that time beginning to attract the attention of Christendom.* These and like considerations were first carefully revolved by

* The reader will find these matters detailed fully by Gov. Bradford and by Edward Winslow, in *Young's Chronicles*, pp. 44-51, 379-82.

the pastor and his trusted friend, Elder Brewster ; then imparted to some of the chief of the brethren ; and finally discussed in meetings of the church, until it appeared that there was a very general agreement among them ; and gradually the determination was reached, to emigrate to some part of America, where they could live in a body, and provide an asylum for all who might please to join them ; and thus become, at least, "as stepping stones unto others, for propagating and advancing the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world." *

The idea of emigrating to America, it will be remembered, was not new to the Separatists. As early as 1592, the plan of moving in a body to some part of America seems to have been considered and somewhat matured ; and a petition was addressed to Elizabeth, by "her majesty's faithful subjects falsely called Brownists," for permission to remove to "a far country which lieth to the west from hence, in the province of Canada" ; where they might "not only worship God, as in conscience persuaded by his word, but also do unto her majesty and country great good service, and in time also greatly annoy that bloody and persecuting Spaniard about the Bay of Mexico." And that this was a well considered project, may be inferred from the declaration of the petitioners

* *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, p. 24, Mass. Hist. Soc.'s ed., Boston, 1856.

— that means were then offered them to carry out the enterprise.* From repeated mention of this scheme by Penry, it is evident that he was deeply interested in it; and so sanguine were his expectations of its ultimate success, that in his farewell letter to his persecuted brethren, in 1593, he besought them to take his widow and fatherless children with them, when they emigrated.† This scheme, however, had slept for five-and-twenty years, when it was revived by the Congregationalists of Leyden. They, as was their habit in great emergencies, first sought counsel of God, and then entered upon “a general conference thereabouts.”

Having decided to emigrate; the next question was — Whither should they go? Attracted by the glowing accounts of Sir Walter Raleigh, some were in favor of Guiana, in South America; ‡ others preferred Virginia; the Amsterdam Trading Company offered them important inducements to go to the neighborhood of the Hudson River; and the Dutch Government made “large offers” to them to settle in Zealand. To Guiana was objected, the tropical climate of the region and the vicinage of the Spaniards, the last people whom puritans

* See this petition in the Editor's Preface to *New England's Memorial*, published by the Congregational Board of Publication, Boston, 1855. The petition bears date, November, 1592. See also *New. Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, vol. XIII. p. 259.

† *Ante*, p. 170; *Waddington's Penry*, p. 174.

‡ See *Young*, 52, note.

would choose for neighbors. To Virginia, it was objected, that if they located near the already settled parts, they would be exposed to the ecclesiastical tyranny of the episcopal church, which was the established religion of the colony; and if they went into a region remote from the settlements there, they would be exposed to the inroads of the savages. To the Dutch possessions it was objected, that by colonizing in any of them they would place themselves from under the English government, which, notwithstanding all their sufferings from it, they still loved beyond all others. Another serious objection arose from the unwillingness of the Dutch government to guarantee to them protection while occupying a sort of independent position in New Netherlands. After much prayer and fasting, and a thorough discussion of the question, the majority decided in favor of Virginia; there to settle in a distinct body, remote from other settlements, under the general government of the Virginia Company;* and to sue "to

* The entire coast of North America, from about Cape Fear River, in what is now North Carolina, to the mouth of the St. Croix River, near Eastport, Maine, was then known as VIRGINIA. By a patent given by James I., April 10th, 1606, this extensive strip, one hundred miles wide from the coast, and at least a thousand miles long, following the bendings of the coast — or from the 34th degree, to the 45th degree of north latitude — was divided between two companies, for the purposes of colonization. One of these, called the London Company, was to colonize between the 34th and the 41st degrees; the other, the Plymouth Company, was to colonize between the 38th and 45th degrees: neither company to plant a colony within a hun-

his majesty that he would be pleased to grant them freedom of religion."

It was now the autumn of 1617. Two messengers of the church, Deacon John Carver and Mr. Robert Cushman, were immediately despatched to London, to negotiate this important business. They took with them, among other papers, a brief statement of the sentiments of the church, to lay before the Virginia Company, and to be communicated to the king if occasion offered or required. In this declaration, the church avow their belief in the doctrinal articles of the church of England, and their agreement with those of the reformed churches among whom they lived, and their desire to maintain spiritual communion with all churches holding like faith. They acknowledge the king's supremacy in all causes in his dominions, and the obligations of all his subjects to render obedience — active, if the command be not against God's word; passive, if against his word, except pardon be obtained. They acknowledge

dred miles of a previous settlement of the other. The Southern, or London Company, was the one to which the pilgrims applied. — *Young*, 54, note. This extensive grant to the Plymouth Company was subsequently (Nov. 3, 1620) enlarged, so as to include all the territory between the 40th and 48th parallels of north latitude — three-fourths of the present territory of the United States, viz.: all "the main land, from sea to sea, with all the seas, rivers, islands, creeks, inlets, ports and havens, within the degrees, precincts and limits of the said latitude and longitude," excepting such parts as were actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian prince or State." — *Baylies' Mem. of Plym. Colony*, vol. 1. pp. 160-85, partic. p. 163.

the right of the king to appoint bishops, civil overseers, or officers, in authority under him, to oversee the churches and govern them civilly according to the laws of the land ;” and acknowledge the authority of the bishops, so far as this was derived from the king ; and their duty to honor them as his representatives. They declare their conviction, that no synod, classes, convention, or other assembly ecclesiastical of officers has any power or authority, but as given by his majesty. And, finally, they profess their desire to give due honor unto all superiors, in order to preserve the unity of the spirit with all who fear God, and to live at peace with all men ; and to be instructed in respect to all their errors.*

This statement of principles and views, which, though carefully guarded, must yet be regarded as very liberal, and kindly in spirit towards all with whom they had any connection — seems to have given a “good degree of satisfaction” to the gentlemen of the Virginia Company ; who expressed their readiness to aid the church with all their in-

* As this interesting and important document has never been published, so far as I know, except in the collections of the New York Historical Society, which are quite inaccessible to the general reader, I give it entire, in its original ungainly dress, in the Appendix. We are indebted to Mr. Bancroft, the historian, for it. He discovered it in the State Paper Office, Westminster, and communicated it, with an interesting introductory letter, to the N. Y. Historical Society, who published it in their Collections, 2d Series, vol. III. pp. 295-302. See Appendix to this volume, note K.

fluence to secure a patent, etc.* But the king and the archbishop of Canterbury were found quite intractable. All that could be obtained from James was, the intimation that "he would connive at them, and not molest them, provided they carried themselves peaceably." But even to this he would not bind himself by his hand and seal.

The report of the messengers' to this effect "made a damp in the business, and caused some distraction." But it was finally concluded, that "this promise intimated" of the king, was just as good as his hand and seal; "for, if afterward there should be a purpose or desire to wrong them, though they had a seal as broad as the house floor it would not serve their turn; for there would be means enough found to recall or reverse it." They rightly estimated the faithless character of their prince; and concluded that they must in this, as in other things, rest on God's providence.† So, other messengers were sent to London, to procure as good a patent as possible from the Virginia Com-

* See Sir Edwin Sandys' letter to Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brewster, dated Nov. 12th, 1617. — *Bradford*, 80-81. Edwin Sandys was son of Archbishop Sandys. He was one of the principal members of the Virginia Company; was a cordial friend to the pilgrims, and was relied upon by them "under God, above all persons and things in the world," to help them forward in their undertaking. See Robinson and Brewster's letter to Sandys, dated Dec. 15th, 1617. — *Bradford*, pp. 80-83.

† The quotations in this connection, when not otherwise designated, are from Bradford and Winslow's relations, as referred to above.

pany, and to enter into arrangements with such merchants and others as had intimated a willingness to assist them in their outfit.* By these agents a further statement of the sentiments of the church was sent, for the consideration of the Company. In this they express their full conviction that God was with them, as he had been in many previous straits and trials, and would prosper their undertaking; that they were weaned from the delicacies of their mother country, and enured to the difficulties of a strange and hard land; that the people, as a body, were as industrious and frugal as any in the world; that they were knit together as a body, in a most strict and sacred bond and covenant in the Lord; and lastly, that their long and hard experience in England and Holland had prepared them to encounter many trials and disappointments without being readily discouraged. And in another paper, apparently sent after the messengers had left, dated January 27th, 1617, O. S., they express their entire agreement with the French Reformed Church, in the number, character and work of ecclesiastical officers; and in relation to the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, as expressed in the public confession of that church; and their willingness to take the oath of supremacy, if their oath of allegiance was not

* The first messengers or agents of the church were Robert Cushman and Deacon John Carver; the second, Cushman and Elder Brewster.

deemed sufficient. They also point out some "small differences" of practice between the French Reformed Church and themselves.

But, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Leyden church and of their faithful and efficient agents, and the interest taken in this undertaking by men of distinction and influence in London, the work dragged heavily. Messengers and letters went to and fro, and every appliance within the reach of the church was employed to expedite the business; yet after all, there was long and discouraging delay. After other difficulties had been surmounted, serious trouble arose from the quarrels between the factions in the Virginia Company itself, which for a time prevented the transaction of any business whatever by the Company. By these vexatious delays more than a year was consumed, and the whole enterprise hung in doubt, greatly to the distress and perplexity of the Leyden congregation, who were made increasingly anxious, by the approaching end of the twelve years' truce between the Netherlands and Spain, and the prospect of the immediate resumption of hostilities, in which they dreaded to be involved.

At this critical moment, early in the year 1620, Mr. Robinson opened negotiations with the Amsterdam Trading Company, who were interested in the settlement of the country about the Hudson River. He informed them that he was favorably inclined to remove to New Netherland, and that he thought that four hundred families from Ley-

den and London would be disposed to accompany him, to plant there a new Commonwealth, to propagate the true, Christian religion, and to instruct the Indians and convert them to the Christian faith, and through the mercy of the Lord, and to the great glory of the Dutch government." * The Dutch merchants were very anxious to secure this valuable body of colonists, and offered to transplant them all free of cost, and to furnish every family with cattle.† But the Dutch government

* *Broadhead's History of New York*, p. 124. New York, 1858.

In a petition of the Directors of the New Netherland Company to the Prince of Orange, etc., dated 12th February, 1620, we find the following reference to this negotiation: "Now it happens, that there is residing at Leyden a certain English preacher, versed in the Dutch language, who is inclined to proceed thither [to New Netherland] to live, assuring the petitioners that he has the means of inducing four hundred families to accompany him thither, both out of this country and England, provided they would be guarded and preserved from all violence on the part of other potentates, by the authority and under the protection of your Princely Excellency and the High and Mighty Lords States General, in the propagation of the true, pure Christian religion, in the instruction of the Indians in that country in true learning, and in converting them to the Christian Faith, and thus, through the mercy of the Lord, to the greater glory of this country's government, to plant there a new Commonwealth, all under the order and command of your Princely Excellency and the High and Mighty Lords States General." These petitioners pray and request, that, "for the preservation of this country's rights, the aforesaid minister and the four hundred families may be taken under the protection of this country, and that two ships of war may be provisionally despatched to secure to the States the aforesaid countries," etc. — *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of N. Y.*, vol. 1. pp. 22-28. Albany, 1856.

† Winslow in *Young*, 385.

was unwilling to guarantee them protection ; foreseeing that if this large company went out and settled in a body, as Englishmen, in the event of war with England, they might be claimed by the English government, and thus involve the Netherlands in serious trouble.

While these negotiations were pending between the Dutch and Mr. Robinson, Mr. Thomas Weston, an enterprising London merchant, visited Leyden, and made such offers of assistance to the church as induced them to break off with the Amsterdam Company, and trust to him and his London friends, who, he assured them, would help "set them forth" ; telling them to "neither fear want of shipping nor money ; for what they wanted should be provided." * Having secured their confidence, he proposed — "not so much for himself as for the satisfying of such friends as he should procure to adventure on this business" — that they should draw up such articles of agreement as should be satisfactory to the contracting parties. This was done ; and Mr. Carver was despatched again to England, to act with Mr. Robert Cushman, in receiving the money to be furnished by the merchants, and to make the necessary arrange-

* *Bradford*, 48. With all his fair speeches and great promises, Weston proved, as Morton called him, "but a staff of reed to the Plantation of Plymouth." — *Memorial*, 105. Davis' edition. He was the very first man to abandon the enterprise, and by his reckless course did the colony immense injury, and finally became its bitter enemy. See *Bradford*, partic. 107-8, 114-24, 181-84, 149-53.

ments for the voyage, which now seemed a settled thing. Others were selected to make the needful preparations in Leyden; and those who were to go at once began to prepare themselves, by selling their estates and putting the avails into "the common stock," to be used for the common good.

But, alas, the troubles of this poor church were not yet ended; for, on reaching London, the agents found Mr. Weston and the chief of his friends disposed to have them go to the more northern parts of Virginia, which had recently been allotted to certain lords and others, under the title of "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England in America." * Their reason for this, according to Bradford, was, "chiefly for the hope of present profit, to be made by the fishing that was found in that country." It was profit, then, after all, that Weston and his friends had mainly in view in helping the Leyden people to emigrate. And what was still more vexatious, these pretended friends, on whom reliance was placed to furnish necessary funds for the outfit, were not of one mind about the best place to emigrate to. Some would not help unless the Leyden company would go to Guiana; others would have them go only to Virginia; and some would do nothing if they went to Virginia. Then, again,

* *Hazard's Collections*, vol. 1. pp. 103-18. See *ante*, p. 392, and note.

Weston and some of his friends insisted that the terms of agreement, to which he had previously fully assented when in Leyden, should be so altered as to put the houses, and lands improved by the colonists, and especially the gardens and house lots, into the common stock, to be divided, with other property, among all the adventurers at the end of a seven-years partnership; and what was still worse, that the colonists should not have, as was first stipulated, and as was common in such cases, any part of their time for their own private use. To these hard terms the Leyden agents, or rather one of them, Cushman, the principal manager, finally consented, under the apprehension that the whole scheme would fall through if he did not. This created great dissatisfaction, and called forth loud remonstrances from Mr. Robinson and his congregation, who refused for some time to ratify the unauthorized agreement.

The arrangement between the Leyden people and the Londoners — “the Merchant Adventurers,” as they were called — which was a source of trouble and irritation to both parties while it continued, was substantially as follows: A joint-stock company was formed, the shares in which were ten pounds; each emigrant of sixteen years of age and upwards was rated as one share; and if he furnished himself with an outfit worth ten pounds, he was entitled to two shares. The copartnership was to continue seven years; during which time all the profits which might accrue from the labor,

traffic, fishing, etc., of the colonists was to go into a common stock ; and at the end of seven years all the capital and profits, including the houses, lands, goods and chattels of the company, were to be divided equally among all the shareholders. Any one who should join the company after the beginning of the enterprise was to be allowed proportionally to the time he had been a shareholder. Every child between ten and sixteen years of age was to be accounted as half a share ; and every child under ten years of age, that went with the original emigrants, was to be entitled, at the general division of the property, to fifty acres of unmanured land. The estate of every shareholder who should die before the copartnership expired was entitled to his proportionate share of the property at the general division. All the colonists were to devote their whole time to company work ; but were to be allowed clothing and provision from the common stock.*

* *Bradford*, 45-47. This altered contract, the Leyden church refused to ratify until some time after their arrival in America — after the coming of Mr. Cushman in the *Fortune*, Nov., 1621. By his persuasion, and by the advice of their Leyden brethren, the New England colonists reluctantly yielded to the hard conditions which Cushman had, without authority from them, pledged them to ; Weston promising, if they would do it, “ that, if all the rest should fall off, yet he would never quit the business, but stick to them, if they yielded to the conditions ; and sent some lading in the ship. But all proved but wind ; for he was the first, and only man that forsook them, and that, before he heard of the return of this ship, or knew what was done : so vain is the confidence in man.” — *Bradford*, 108. And, though in after years, in

The necessity of submitting to such rigorous terms of copartnership as these illustrates the straitened circumstances of the emigrants, as well as the indomitable resolution which impelled them forward in their noble but hazardous undertaking.

Preparations were now hurriedly made for the immediate departure of the colonists. A minority only of the church — though “the difference in number was not great” — could go at once : * and it was decided that the younger and stronger should go first, and prepare the way for the elder and larger part to follow as speedily as possible. It was further agreed, that as the major part remained at Leyden, Mr. Robinson should remain with them, and that Elder Brewster should accompany the minority. Each part was to be regarded as a complete church in itself; but those who followed, and any that might find it necessary to return to Leyden, should be received “as members [to either body] without further dismissal or testimonial.” It was also promised by those who remained, that, “if the Lord gave them life, and means, and opportunity, they would come to them as soon as they could.” †

“At length, after much travail and these debates,

his misfortune, he was befriended by the Plymouth people and aided materially, “when all the world failed him;” yet he never repaid them any thing “but reproaches and evil words,” and “proved after, a bitter enemy unto them upon all occasions.” — *Ib.* 134.

* Winslow in *Young*, 384.

† *Bradford*, 42.

all things were got ready and provided." A small vessel of sixty tons, the *Speedwell*, was purchased in Holland, and fitted to carry a portion of the company, and to remain with them in America, for their use in fishing and coasting. Another, of one hundred and eighty tons, the *Mayflower*, was hired in London and furnished for the voyage. "So, being ready to depart," a day of "solemn humiliation" was proclaimed, and the pastor preached to them from the appropriate words of *Ezra viii. 21*: "And there, at the river Ahava, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seek of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance." A good part of the day was spent in hearing the instructive and valuable discourse founded on these words, and the rest, in "pouring out praise to the Lord, with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears." * After this, the brethren who were to remain at Leyden provided a feast at the pastor's house, "being large ; where," says Winslow, "we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts ;" † and then most of the Leyden brethren accompanied their departing friends to Delft Haven, a port about fourteen miles distant, where they were to embark for England. Arrived at the port, the *Speedwell* was found all ready, and after a night spent in "friendly entertainment and Christian dis-

* *Bradford*, 58-59.† *In Young*, 384.

course" — for few could sleep — the pilgrims went on board their little bark, July 12th, O. S., or 22d, N. S., 1620,* accompanied by their loving friends and affectionate pastor, and there, amidst sighs, and sobs, and tears, they joined in the parting prayer of the man of God, and received his farewell blessing. Well may we believe the story of Bradford, that even the Dutch strangers, who were gathered upon the quay to witness the embarkation, were moved to tears, as they witnessed the farewell scene — the prayers, and tears, and mutual embraces of these poor Christian strangers and pilgrims.

Arrived at Southampton, England, no time was lost in getting everything ready for their voyage. But here they had to encounter further difficulties with the Adventurers. Weston came to meet them, but finding them unwilling to ratify the doings of Cushman in altering the original articles of copartnership, left them in displeasure, telling them they must "stand on their own legs," and refusing to disburse another penny for them. This heartless abandonment of them at the last moment, compelled them to sell out a part of their scanty supplies for the voyage, to pay necessary charges; and to go on their perilous enterprise partly or entirely unfurnished with important articles, as muskets, swords, armor, sole-leather, oil, etc. Still these brave souls resolutely went for-

* *Prince*, 159. *Bradford* gives the facts, but not the dates.

ward, and by the 5th of August were ready for their departure. The company was then called together, and first, Mr. Robinson's admirable farewell letter was read to them.* In this he assured them, that nothing but "strong necessity" held him back from bearing his part in "this first brunt;" and that they might account him in the mean while, as a man divided in himself with great pain, and having his better part with them. And, though he did not doubt their godly wisdom, foresight, and resolution, yet his duty and his love prompted him "to add some further spur of provocation unto them." He then urged them, first of all, to renew their repentance for known sins and unknown trespasses, that thus they might secure that sense of pardon which would be their security and peace in all dangers, sweeten their comforts in all distresses, and ensure a happy deliverance from all evil, whether in life or death. Having secured this heavenly peace, they should next provide carefully for peace with all men, especially their associates, by watchfulness against giving or taking offence. And they had special occasion for this caution, he told them, because many of them were strangers to each others persons as well as infirmities; and because their "intended course of civil community" would minister continual occasion for offence, and be as fuel to that fire, unless

* This may be found in *Bradford*, 68-67; and in *Morton's Memorial*, 15-19, Congl. Board's ed.

diligently quenched with brotherly forbearance. He urged also, that with their common employments, they join common affections; that self-seeking and unsociality — “retiredness of minde,” as he calls it — and singularity of manner, be carefully avoided, “as so many rebels against the common good.” And finally, he warned them, that when they became “a body politic,” and should not chance to have among themselves any persons of special eminence to be chosen into office, their own wisdom and godliness be made to appear, not only in choosing such persons as did entirely love, and would promote the common good, but also in yielding unto them due honor and obedience in their lawful administrations; “not being like the foolish multitude, who more honor the gay coat, than either the virtuous mind of the man, or glorious ordinance of the Lord.” In conclusion, he assured them that they should have his incessant prayers, “that he who hath made the heavens and the earth, the sea and all rivers of waters, and whose providence is over all his works, especially over all his dear children, for good” — would guard and guide them in all their ways. “This letter,” Bradford tells us, “had good acceptation with all, and after-fruit with many.”*

The whole company was then apportioned to the two vessels, as was thought best, and a governor and two or three assistants chosen for each,

* *Hist. Plym. Plantation*, p. 67.

to order the people, distribute the provisions, and attend to their affairs during the passage; their last adieus were made to sympathizing friends, and they set sail for Virginia, August 5th, 1620.

But the trials of these good people were not even yet all over; for they had not cleared the coast, when the smaller vessel, the ill-named *Speedwell*, was discovered to be leaking badly, and both vessels had to put into Dartmouth, about the 13th of August. There they were compelled to remain ten days, while the *Speedwell* was overhauled and repaired.* About the 23d, they put to sea a second time; but only to find, after sailing a few hundred miles, (one hundred leagues beyond Land's End,) that the *Speedwell* was still unseaworthy. This compelled them to make the land a second time. This time they entered the port of Plymouth, and there resolved to give up the leaking vessel. Setting ashore such as chose to go — about twenty in number — and crowding as many as they could into the *Mayflower*, with as much provision as she would hold — they made “another sad parting,” and with one hundred and two passengers, the *Mayflower* once more set sail for the New World, September 6th, 1620.† Of the pas-

* *Bradford*, 68, 69, and notes; *Prince*, 160–61.

† Cushman's Letter from Dartmouth reveals some of the disquietudes of the company in the smaller vessel, and his own chafed spirit in view of the proceedings of the company in refusing to ratify his agreement with the Adventurers; and of the unfitness of the master of the *Speedwell* for his position. — *Bradford*, 71–74.

sage we have but few incidents; but enough to show that it was very much like average autumn passages across the Atlantic: fair winds and weather, alternating with "cross winds" and "many fierce storms, with which the ship was shrewdly shaken." All the discomforts of such a passage were greatly aggravated by the crowded and overloaded condition of the little vessel, which made it necessary sometimes to lay her to for successive days. The passage was thus prolonged to sixty-five days; when, at length, "upon the 9th of November, by break of the day," they "espied land, which [they] deemed to be Cape Cod, and so afterwards it proved," causing them to rejoice together and praise God that had given them once again to see land, and "so goodly a land" too, and "wooded to the bank of the sea." * But as their destination was the neighborhood of the Hudson River, many miles south of the land which they had made, they tacked about and stood on a southerly course. But after sailing about half a day, they fell among shoals and breakers, and gladly retraced their course; and the next day, the 11th of November, came to anchor in Cape Cod Bay, or, as it is now called, Provincetown Harbor.

"Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safely to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and deliv-

* *Mourt's Relation*, in *Young*, 117.

ered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the firm and solid earth, their proper element.” *

The lateness of the season, tempestuous weather, and other necessities of their situation compelled them to land on this coast. But it was considerably north of the limits of their patent, and this instrument, procured with so much trouble and expense, was thus made valueless as a means of government. It was therefore determined, before they went on shore, to adopt a civil compact and covenant, as the foundation of their government in this strange, new world.† By this they solemnly and mutually covenanted and combined together into a civil body politic; to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and officers, from time to time, as

* *Bradford*, 78.

† The principal reason assigned by Governor Bradford for adopting this instrument at this time, was, “the discontented and mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in the ship — that when they came ashore, they would use their own liberty; for none had power to command them, the patent they had, being for Virginia, and not for New England,” *etc.* — P. 89. It was to control these strangers especially, that the instrument was to be signed before going on shore. The church members were already bound together by “a most strict covenant.” It is not at all improbable that this compact was drawn up by Robinson’s own hand, and committed to the care of some of the leaders of this expedition before they left Holland; for in his final advice to the embarking brethren at Southampton, it will be remembered, he speaks of their “intended course of civil communitie,” in a way to suggest this. This letter was probably written in July, 1620. — *Dexter’s Mourt*, xii. xiii.

should be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; and promised all due submission and obedience to the same. It read as follows:—

“In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyall subjects of our dread Sovereigne Lord King James, by the grace of God, of Great *Britaine, France, and Ireland*, King Defender of the Faith, &c.

“Having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian Faith, and honor of our King and Country, a Voyage to plant the first Colony in the Northerne parts of VIRGINIA, doe by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of *God* and one of another, covenant, and combine ourselves together into a civill body politike, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equall Lawes, Ordinances, Acts, constitutions, officers from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the generall good of the Colony: unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnesse whereof we have here-under subscribed our names.

“*Cape Cod*, 11 of *November*, in the yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord King JAMES, of *England, France, and Ireland*. 18. and of *Scotland* 54. *Anno Domino*, 1620.” *

* This compact appears to have been signed by *forty-one* names,

This brief, well-considered, comprehensive and admirable document was designed to be their **MAGNA CHARTA** — the constitution and foundation of the colonial government of the pilgrims. It contains, also, the elements of the various State governments which grew out of this settlement in the wilderness. By it the pilgrims constituted a Christian Republic — as pure a democracy as ever had an existence in this wicked world; modelled evidently after their free, Congregational system of church government. It recognized, to be sure, the sovereignty of James the First, and their obligations to obey the general laws of their native land; but it, nevertheless, constituted a true Democracy, in which every man's right to participate in framing and administering the laws of the Commonwealth was distinctly acknowledged, and the authority of the majority was fully admitted.

This simple instrument was all the written law that the colony was to have for several years. But it proved ample for all the purposes of government. Guided by it they chose their first Governor, John Carver; and in subsequent years, their

for themselves and families, amounting to just *one hundred* persons. Four of the signers were servants. Seven servants did not sign it: why, we do not know. They all died early, and Dr. Dexter suggests, that they may have been ill at the time the compact was signed, and for this reason were not called on. — See *Bradford*, 450-52, *Mourt*, 9, note.

This important document is given by *Bradford*, pp. 89-90, and in *Mourt*, pp. 6-7, and *Morton*, pp. 24-25, with slight verbal variations. I copy from *Dexter's Mourt*.

governors and assistants; who in the State held much the same positions which their pastor and elders held in the church: these officials preparing public business for the consideration of the free-men, and moderating and directing in the public assemblies. But the ultimate power was still in the hands of the people, by whom all executive, judicial and legislative acts were performed for many years, just as their ecclesiastical acts were, in their church meetings.*

Having put their hands severally to this important civil compact and covenant, these courageous men, who had come across the ocean to find a peaceful Christian home in the wilderness, immediately began their preparations for landing and exploring the country to which Providence had directed them. For, weak, and weary, and sick, as many of them were from the confinement and hardships of a long and boisterous passage, they were called upon at once, to enter on the work

* See *Pitkin's Political and Civil History of the U. S.*, vol. 1. pp. 82, 88. New Haven, 1828; *Baylies' Historical Memoir of New Plymouth*, vol. 1. pp. 154-59, 225-27, 256. Boston, 1880. *Pitkin* says of this compact: "This brief but comprehensive constitution of civil government was signed by forty-two persons. It contained the elements of those forms of government peculiar to the New World." — P. 83. And *Baylies* says: "It cannot be ascertained that they had during this period [ten or twelve years] any written code of laws, descriptive of offences, and defining the limits of punishment; but the people took upon themselves the execution of justice, and inflicted punishment at discretion, until the establishment of juries," Dec. 17th, 1623. — Pp. 156-59; *Laws of the Colony of New Plymouth*, p. 28. Brigham's ed.

of exploration ; as the season was so far advanced that not an hour could be spared in the work of finding a place of settlement. The seamen, too, were urgent for them to leave the vessel. These explorations were full of toil and danger. They were nevertheless begun on the 15th of November, and diligently followed up by successive parties, until the 9th of December ; when, amidst snow and rain, stormy winds and boisterous seas, the explorers entered Plymouth harbor, and after dark landed on Clark's Island. Here they remained during the night and the following day : " and this being the last day of the week, they prepared to keep the Sabbath." On Monday, the 11th of December, old style, or the 21st, new style,* they sounded and found the harbor fit for shipping ; " and then marched into the land, and found divers cornfields, and little running brooks ; a place, as they supposed, fit for situation.† At least, it was the best they could find ; and one which, in their

* Add ten days to Old Style dates, during this seventeenth century, and we have New Style. By some oversight, the 22d of December, N. S., was fixed on as Forefather's Day. It should have been the 21st of Dec. — See *Deane's* edition of *Bradford's History*, p. 87, note §.

† *Bradford*, 88–88, and *Mourt's Relation*, or as Young calls it, " *Bradford and Winslow's Journal*." Chapter ix. of *Young's Chronicle*, furnishes the interesting details of their explorations. A beautiful, valuable edition of *Mourt's Relation* has very recently been published by Mr. J. K. Wiggin of Boston, enriched with abundant notes from the facile pen of Rev. H. M. Dexter, D. D., of Boston. It is a *fac simile* of the first edition printed by John Belamie, London, 1622, in small quarto, pp. xlvii., and 176.

present extremity, they rejoiced to find. So they returned to their ship again [on the 14th] with this news, to the rest of the people, which did much comfort their hearts." On the following day the Mayflower weighed anchor, to go to the place they had discovered; but being forced back by contrary winds, did not reach Plymouth harbor until Saturday, December 16th (O. S.), 1620. And here, after further explorations, and calling on God for direction, they decided to locate. On the 23d, they began to fell and carry timber, and on the 25th to erect their first house for common use, and amidst winter winds and pelting storms, to lay the foundations of a Christian Commonwealth, in this New World.

CHAPTER XVI

SUFFERINGS OF THE COLONISTS. — PROVIDENTIAL INTERPOSITIONS. — COMPROMISE WITH THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS, 1626. — “UNDERTAKERS” ASSUME THE TRADE AND THE DEBTS OF THE COLONY.

THE winter of 1620-21 was a sad and terrible season to the Plymouth colonists. Their protracted voyage, the exposures and hardships connected with their landing, explorations and settlement — all unused as they were to such things — brought on severe sicknesses, which prostrated nearly the whole company, and hurried one half of them to their graves before April, 1621.* At times, there were not above six or seven persons in the whole company well enough to attend upon the sick; these persons, however, “spared no pains, night nor day; but with abundance of toil, and hazard of their own health, fetched them wood, made them fires, dressed them meat, made their beds, washed their loathsome clothes, clothed and unclothed them; in a word, did all the homely and necessary offices for them, which dainty and squeamish stomachs cannot endure to hear named;

* *Mourt's Relation*, 27, 28, 89. Dexter's ed.

and all this willingly and cheerfully."* Prominent among these self-denying, faithful ones were Elder Brewster and Miles Standish.

These trials served to bring out in bold relief the noble traits of these faithful Christians, and to prove that they were indeed, as Robinson had said, "knit together as a body in a most strict and sacred bond and covenant of the Lord." The sufferings endured during that first winter in this new world were sufficient, one might think, to break down the bravest spirits, and to discourage, utterly, the most hopeful souls. But when the Mayflower sailed for England, in April, 1621, and not one of this courageous little band returned in her, they unconsciously verified another assertion of their pastor: "It is not with us as with other men, whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish themselves at home again."† They had indeed carefully counted the cost of their undertaking; they had sought divine direction before they ventured on their perilous voyage; and verily believing themselves called and directed of God, to establish a Christian Commonwealth in the wilderness, and being sustained by a living, practical faith in an overruling, ever-present Providence, they resolved to accomplish the work assigned to them, or perish in the undertaking. Amidst hardships and perils, therefore; poverty

* *Bradford*, 91.

† Mr. Robinson's letter to Sir Edwin Sandys, Dec. 15, 1617, in *Bradford*, 31-33.

and actual famine ; rags and nakedness — “ at night not many times knowing where to have a bit of anything the next day ” ; “ no bread, no corn, for two or three months together ” — dependent mainly on fish and clams for subsistence, and praising God that they could thus “ suck of the abundance of the seas and of treasures hid in the sand ” ; greatly embarrassed by their London associates, whose coöperation was unreliable and often injudicious, and whose complaints were most unreasonable and disheartening ; with secret enemies to encounter, sent among them to spy out their liberty and thwart their plans : amidst all these difficulties and discouragements, and others that cannot here be even hinted at, these brave, good men struggled on until their work was done, and they had founded a Christian colony in the wilderness, and had opened the way through their sufferings for other and more prosperous settlements all around them.

Like Nehemiah's colony at Jerusalem, the Plymouth colonists had to build their city and worship their God with their weapons by their side. One of their early cares was, to erect a house of public worship on the hill along whose base they built their first cabins.* This, as a

* They began to fell and carry timber for building, Dec. 23, 1620. A “ common house ” was first built, about 20 feet square ; then the village was laid out, by the side of the hill on which they erected, first, a platform for their cannon, and afterwards, a sort of fort and meeting-house combined. The principal street was called

symbol of their true condition — a church in the wilderness surrounded by savage foes — they constructed so as to answer the double purpose of a house of worship and a fort, raising battlements upon its strong flat roof, and mounting their little ordnance behind them. Into this sanctuary they marched in reverential martial order, Sabbath after Sabbath, with their arms in their hands, to worship the God of Hosts.*

Leyden street. — *Young*, 169–70, 173, and notes. On the 11th of December, 1621, Edward Winslow wrote from "Plymouth in New England," to a friend in England: "You shall understand that in this little time that a few of us have been here, we have built seven dwelling houses, and four for the use of the plantation, and have made preparation for divers others." — In *Young*, 230. "This summer [1622] they built a fort with good timber, both strong and comely; made with a flat roof and battlements, on which their ordnance were mounted, and where they kept constant watch, especially in time of danger. It served them also for a meeting-house, and was fitted accordingly for that use." — *Bradford*, 126. This was on "Burial Hill."

* *Bradford*, 126. Isaac De Rasieres, the Dutch "Upper Commis, or chief merchant, and second to the Governor," at New Netherlands, visited Plymouth in 1627, and thus describes the appearance of things at the time of his visit: "Upon the hill they have a large square house, with a flat roof made of thick sawn planks, stayed with oak beams; upon the top of which they have six cannons, which shoot iron balls of four or five pounds, and command the surrounding country. The lower part they use for their church, where they preach on Sundays and the usual holidays. They assemble by beat of drum, each with his musket or fire-lock, in front of the Captain's door; they have their cloaks on, and place themselves in order, three abreast, and are led by a sergeant, without beat of drum. Behind comes the Governor, in a long robe; beside him, on the right hand, comes the preacher with his cloak on; and on the left hand, the Captain, with his

Notwithstanding the manifold hardships and sufferings of these colonists, the early history of this enterprise abounds with impressive illustrations of a kind superintending Providence over these praying, trusting men and women.

Their coming so far north of their proposed place of settlement was not an accident. They were to found a *religious* colony—a *Christian* commonwealth. The mouth of the Hudson would have been a much more attractive region for adventurers and mercenary men, than the cold and obscure region to which Providence directed their pilgrim course; but it would have been much more difficult to have kept the colony pure, if founded on a spot convenient and attractive for mercantile and trading purposes.

Neither was it an accident which guided them to the particular spot on which they built their town. Patuxet, which they called Plymouth,* had been depopulated by a deadly plague, three

side arms and cloak on, and with a small cane in his hand; and so they march in good order, and each sets his arms down near him." — *Bradford*, 126, and note, and 222, 238. Judge Davis tells us, that "some traces of this fort are still visible, on the eminence called the Burying Hill, in 1826." — *Morton's Memorial*, p. 82, note.

* This place was called *Plimouth* on Capt. John Smith's map of New England, published in 1616. And Morton says: "The name of Plimouth was so called, not only for the reason here named, but also because Plimouth in O. E. was the last town that they left in their native country, and for that they received many kindnesses from some Christians there." — *Memorial*, p. 42. Congregational Board's ed.; *Young*, 208; *Dexter's Mourt*, 84, note.

years before the arrival of the pilgrims, and there were no aboriginal owners to claim the soil and dispute the occupancy. The same wasting disease which had destroyed the inhabitants of this place had visited most of the neighboring tribes, and reduced their numbers and weakened their strength, so that they were less able and disposed to trouble the new comers than they would otherwise have been.* Had the worn and weary pilgrims settled on the territory of a numerous and powerful Indian tribe, such as abounded at that time along the coast of New England and the neighborhood of the Hudson, the fate of this little colony could hardly have failed to have been that of most which had preceded it in this new world.

The discovery of corn buried in the earth, on their first landing, before the ground had frozen up — as it was immediately afterwards — was another providential thing which our fathers loved to speak of, and which their children should not forget. From

* *Bradford* repeatedly mentions this desolating plague. Speaking of Squanto, he says: "He was a native of this place, and scarce any left alive beside himself." — P. 95. And, in describing Winslow and Hopkins' visit to Massasoit, in July, 1621, he says: "They found his place to be forty miles from hence, the soil good, and the people not many, being abundantly wasted in the late great mortality which fell in all these parts, about three years before the coming of the English, wherein thousands of them died, they not being able to bury one another; their skulls and bones were found in many places, lying still above ground, where their houses and dwellings had been; a very sad spectacle to behold." — P. 102. See also *Mourt*, in *Young's Chronicles*, pp. 183, 206, 229, *et cet.*; and *Morton*, pp. 37-41, Congl. Board's ed.

this corn they reaped a harvest, which gave them bread the next winter; and from this seed alone, of all that they planted and sowed, did they secure a full crop.*

The early appearance among them of Samoset, Squanto, and Hobamock — three friendly Indians, who could speak English, and who attached themselves to the colonists, and became their instructors in planting, fishing, and hunting; their guides and pilots along the coast and through the country, and their mediators and interpreters with the neighboring tribes — cannot be regarded in any other light than that of a kind, providential interposition. Without the counsel and aid of these natives, the colonists could hardly have got through the first year of their residence in New England; without them it would have been well-nigh impossible to have communicated with the Indian tribes around them; to have formed the life-long league of friendship with Massasoit, the influential sagamore of that

* "And here is to be noted a special providence of God, and a great mercy to this poor people, that here they got seed to plant them corn the next year, or else they might have starved, for they had none." — *Bradford*, 88, 108; *Young*, 188. "Also, we had never in all likelihood seen a grain of it, if we had not made our first journey; for the ground was now [Nov. 29th] covered with snow, and so hard frozen that we were fain, with our cutlasses and short swords, to hew and carve the ground a foot deep, and then wrest it up with levers, for we had forgot to bring other tools." — *Mourt* in *Young*, 141. Also *Dexter's* ed., 21, 30, 81, 100, 115, 187, and notes. The corn thus providentially found, was afterwards fully paid for, to the entire satisfaction of its owners. — *Bradford*, 108.

entire section of country; or to have become acquainted with the hostile designs of unfriendly tribes, and escaped destruction.*

The comparative mildness of the first winter of their sojourn in this strange country was another providential circumstance, worthy of commemoration. It was, it is true, a terrible winter to the pilgrims, in their miserable cabins, worn down with hardships and exposure, sick and dying; but it was, after all, a remarkably mild winter for this latitude — “a calm winter,” “no winter in comparison,” as their subsequent experience taught them.† And was not God’s hand in this — staying his rough wind in the day of his east wind?

It is generally regarded as a particular misfortune, that the pilgrims should have pitched on a spot so unpromising for agricultural purposes as Plymouth was. But a little reflection will satisfy any one, that for the purpose which God had in view in giving these good men a habitation on these northern shores — to make them “stepping stones” (to use their own language) for others, into this new world — nothing could have been

* *Bradford*, 98–98, 103; *Mourt*, in *Young*, 182–196.

† *Dudley*, in a letter to the Countess of Lincoln, in 1631, says, they “were favored with a calm winter, such as was never seen here since.” And *Wood*, in 1639, says, “the year of New Plymouth men’s arrival, was no winter in comparison.” — In *Young’s Chronicles*, 105, note. The harbor appears to have been free from ice up to Jan. 9th, and we know not how much longer; while in Dec. 1831 and 1834, it was an expanse of ice and snow. — *Young*, 178, note.

better. True, the immediate neighborhood of Plymouth had but a light and unproductive soil for a great agricultural people; and afforded but contracted quarters for a large colony. But yet, it would have been difficult to have found a spot along the entire coast of New England better suited to the immediate wants and circumstances of a small and feeble colony, like the Leyden church. The soil, it is true, was light and sandy; though it had over it, "a spit's depth, excellent black earth," as the first explorers reported;* but it was easily cultivated, was warm and quick, and yielded a good crop of corn with little labor. This, for men who had no ploughs or beasts of burden, and who depended entirely on the mattock and the hoe for preparing and cultivating the soil, was a matter of vital importance.

And further, considerable tracts of land had been cleared and made ready for culture by former occupants.† And the land thus cleared was that

* *Morton*, 29 and note, Congl. Board's ed. In *Mourt's Relation*, we read: "From thence, we went on and found much plain ground, about fifty acres, fit for the plough, and some signs where the Indians had formerly planted their corn." — *Young's Chronicles*, 130. The Plymouth Colonists were able to plant twenty acres with "Indian" corn, and to sow six acres with barley and peas, in the spring of 1621. The corn was manured with fish, probably alewives. — *Mourt in Young*, 230–31.

† "The ground, or earth, sand hills, much like the downs in Holland, but much better, the crust of the earth a spit's depth [a spade's depth], excellent blacke earth; all wooded with oaks, pines, sassafras, juniper, birch, holly, vines, some ash, walnut; the wood for the most part open and without underwood, fit either

which was best suited to the culture of corn. This was also a vital matter to these enfeebled men. Had they been compelled to clear away the forests before planting and sowing, they could not have secured any crops during their first year at Plymouth.

Then again, the neighborhood in which they planted themselves abounded with game; and at certain seasons of the year wild fowl were very abundant; the harbor and ponds, and the brook even along which they built their village, swarmed with fish. The country around also yielded a variety of nuts, and a great supply of berries.*

to go or ride in." — *Mourt*, 10. This, to be sure, is a description of Cape Cod; but was essentially true of the neighborhood of Plymouth, except that it was less sandy. Winslow, in describing the soil of Plymouth, says: "The land for the crust of the earth is a spit's depth excellent black mould, and fat in some places." — In *Young*, 165. And under date of July, 1622, one of the colonist wrote: "Our number is about one hundred persons, all in health [that is free from sickness, though not from weakness] near sixty acres of ground well planted with corn, besides gardens replenished with useful fruits." — *Purchase in Prince*, 204.

* "Cod and bass, and other fish of which they took good store. And now began to come in store of fowl, as winter [of 1621-22] approached, of which this place did abound when they came first, but afterward decreased by degrees. And besides water fowl, there was great store of wild turkies, of which they took many, besides venison, etc." — *Bradford*, 100, 105. "Four men in one day, killed as much fowl, as, with a little help beside, served the company almost a week." — *Mourt*, in *Young*, 281. William Hilton, in his letter to his "Loving Cousin," from New Plymouth, Nov. 1621, gives a most flattering picture of the country: "The country very pleasant and temperate, yielding naturally, of itself, great store of fruits, as vines of divers sorts, in great abundance.

If the question is raised — How, with such resources, could the colonists suffer so severely for food, as they did at times during their first three years' residence at Plymouth? — for there was no general want among them after the gathering of harvest in 1623* — the answer is: that the colonists were few and weak, and unable at first to cultivate more than a very moderate number of acres — probably less than an acre to an inhabitant; that the supply of game and wild fowl was transient and uncertain; that they were, at first, unprovided with suitable hooks and tackle for fishing; that there was a great deal of hard work to be done by them, besides providing food: such as building houses, impaling their town, raising their store-houses, fort, etc., travelling about to trade with the natives, and preparing return cargoes for the London Adventurers, who were pressing for

There is, likewise, walnuts, chestnuts, small nuts and plums. No place hath more gooseberries and strawberries, nor better flocks of turkies, quails, pigeons, and partridges; many great lakes abounding with fish, fowl, beavers, and otters," etc. "Better grain cannot be than Indian corn, if we will plant upon as good ground as a man need desire. . . We are all freeholders: the rent day doth not trouble us." — In *Young*, 250. As to the abundant growth of nuts, grapes, strawberries, in the vicinity of Plymouth, see *Mourt*, pp. 20-21, Dexter's notes. Roger Williams says of the wild strawberry of New England: "I have many times seen as many as would fill a good ship, within a few miles compass." They still grow abundantly in the vicinity of Plymouth. Wood says: "There are strawberries in abundance, very large ones, some being two inches about; one may gather half a bushel in a forenoon." — In *Young*, 182.

* *Bradford*, 147.

payments on advances made ; and above all, they were repeatedly compelled to furnish from their scanty store supplies for others. Thus, in November, 1621, came the ship *Fortune* from London, with thirty-five new colonists, "most of them lusty young men," without so much as "a biscuit-cake or any other victuals"; and it became necessary to put the whole colony on half allowance. In December of the same year, after they had gathered with grateful hearts their comparatively plentiful harvest and procured an ample supply of wild fowl, and were keeping their first Thanksgiving, they had a visit from their friend and ally, Massasoit, and some ninety of his people, who had to be entertained and feasted for three days. And at other times they were called on to share their supplies with other new comers ; as Weston and his graceless men, repeatedly.*

The above, and many like instances of providential interposition, all carefully recorded by the early historians of Plymouth Colony, deserve our reverential and grateful notice, as illustrative of that good Providence which guided and guarded the pilgrim church in its first settlement on our shores.†

* *Young's Chronicles*, 281 ; *Bradford*, 105-10, 114, 116, 118, 124, 133-34, 145.

† The early history of Plymouth Colony has been preserved for us, with great minuteness, in the writings of several of the chief actors in the enterprise. I refer particularly to Governor Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, which, after having

The business of the colony was managed with a degree of energy, enterprise and sound judgment deserving special notice and admiration. These poor Separatists, despised and rejected by the great men of England, as weak, ignorant, narrow-minded enthusiasts, were soon able to show themselves capable, not only of establishing a Christian colony in the wilderness, under almost incredible difficulties, but also of enlarging and making prosperous this colony by agriculture, trade, and fishing ;

been lost in manuscript for more than two hundred years, was discovered in the Fulham Library, belonging to the See of London, in 1846, and published by the Mass. Hist. Society, in a handsome octavo volume of 476 pages, with notes, by Charles Deane, in 1856. Of equal authority with the above, and much more full, so far as it goes, is what is generally known as *Mourt's Relation*, or as Dr. Young calls it, "Bradford and Winslow's Journal of the First Settlement of the Colony." This contains a minute diary of the more interesting and important events, from the arrival of the *Mayflower* in Cape Cod Harbor, Nov. 9, 1620, to Dec. 11th, 1621. This is published entire in Dr. Young's valuable *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers* ; also by Mr. J. K. Wiggin, of Boston, 1865. In the Introduction to Wiggin's edition, the editor, Dr. Dexter, discusses very fully the question of the authorship of this work. His conclusion is, that Governor Bradford and Edward Winslow wrote the main portions of the work ; while Robert Cushman, George Morton (the father of Nathaniel), and John Robinson, wrote the adjunct papers — the "Dedication," "To the Reader," "Advertisements," and "Reasons and Considerations." — *Intr.* pp. xvi. xvii.

Since the discovery of Bradford's History, *Morton's Memorial* is of little comparative use. Judge Davis' notes to the Memorial, however, are of great value. *Prince's Chronology*, being mainly a compilation from original sources, has almost the value of an original work. 8vo. pp. 489. Boston, 1826.

though compelled to supply themselves with needful articles of living and trading at most extortionate rates — paying thirty, forty, fifty, and even seventy per cent. to their London creditors.* In five years they had so far advanced, that they began to think of buying out the London Adventurers, so as to have the entire property of the company in their own hands; and in 1625, Capt. Standish was sent to England, partly on this errand. But his visit was at a very unfavorable time. "The State was full of trouble, and the plague very hot in London, so as no business could be done." † However, he made an opening

* *Bradford*, 201, 228-29. August, 1625: "At New Plimouth there are now about one hundred and eighty persons; some cattle and goats, but many swine and poultry; thirty-two dwelling houses; the town is impaled about half a mile in compass; * * * a fort well built — a fair watch-tower. In the three last years, there hath not one died of the first planters. And this year they have freighted a ship of one hundred and eighty tons." — *Prince*, 230. They had set up a fishing-work at Cape Ann. — *Ib.* The same year we read: "They send out a boat's load of corn, 40 or 50 leagues, to the eastward, up a river called the Kennebec. God gave them good success; for they brought home 700 pounds of beaver, besides some other furs, having little or nothing else but this corn, which themselves had raised out of the earth," to trade with. — *Bradford*, 204. These successes encouraged them to set up a trading-house on the Kennebec. — *Ib.* 233. They also had a trading-house on the Connecticut River, near Windsor. — *Ib.* 311-14. Thus their trade extended all along the coast; and for some five years this was carried on in open boats. Without this trade, they could never have paid their heavy indebtedness.

† Standish seems to have left Plymouth about the last of June, 1625. See Bradford's letter to the Council for New England. — *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 1st series, vol. III. pp. 87, 88.

of the business, and the next year, Mr. Allerton was sent, to make the best bargain he could with the Adventurers for the purchase of their entire interest. He finally succeeded in getting an agreement from them, to sell out all their title and interest to the colonists, for eighteen hundred pounds sterling, payable in yearly instalments of two hundred pounds. These terms were accepted, and seven or eight of their principal men became jointly bound for the payment of this large sum, and the colony was at last happily rid of that vexatious copartnership with the Merchant Adventurers, which had seriously embarrassed all their previous doings, and had kept from them their beloved pastor and the brethren at Leyden.

The entire property was then made a joint-stock, and each head of a family, and every single man among them "of ability, and free," and able to govern himself and his affairs "with meet discretion, so as to be helpful to the commonwealth" (except the servants), was allowed to enter this partnership. Every single man was allowed one share; and every father of a family might purchase one share for his wife, and one for each of his children, and for his servants, if he pleased; and every shareholder was to bear his full proportion of the new purchase and of all the other debts of the colony. The cattle, goats and swine were then divided as equally as possible among all the partners. So much of the public land as was necessary, was also divided into twenty-acre lots

and each shareholder drew for his lot. The meadow land, on which they relied for grass, was not divided; but it was agreed, that every season an allotment should be made to the shareowners where each one might mow, according to his number of cattle. The Governor and four or five of "the special men amongst them" were allowed to retain their own houses; but the other houses were valued and equalized, and every man was allowed to keep his own house, by paying something to his neighbors whose houses were of less value, according to the general estimate.*

This wholly equitable and liberal arrangement of the affairs of the colony gave great satisfaction to all concerned, and prepared them to enter with renewed courage upon the great work before them, of clearing the colony of debt and placing themselves in an independent and comfortable position.

Another plan was soon devised to free the colony more speedily from debt, and also to secure means to transport such of the beloved church-members as still remained at Leyden. To this end, Governor Bradford, and seven of the principal men of the Colony and four of their best English friends, hired the trade of the colony for a term of six years; agreeing to pay all the common debts,

* *Bradford*, 215-17; *Records of Plymouth Colony*, May 22, and January 3d, 1627, vol. i. pp. 9-14. The animals were divided into twelve lots, and the colonists into companies of thirteen persons, each of which companies drew for a lot, containing one cow and two she goats, or an equivalent.

amounting, with the purchase just made, to about twenty-four hundred pounds sterling; to bring into the colony yearly fifty pounds' worth of "hose and shoes, to be sold unto them for corn, at six shillings per bushel";* and at the end of the time, return the trade to the colony again, on condition that the "Undertakers" — as this trading company was called — should have the free use of the large boats belonging to the colony, and all their tackle and implements, with all the furs and skins then on hand, and all the corn, and articles of barter then in store; and that each shareholder of the colony property, should pay to the undertakers three bushels of corn, or six pounds of tobacco, yearly. This agreement was confirmed in November, 1637 or 38.† And the undertakers were "enabled in time to repay all these heavy engagements, and many more, unjustly brought upon them through the unfaithfulness of some, and many other great losses which they sustained."‡

Among the first fruits of this honorable and generous arrangement was the payment of the first instalment of the debt to the London Adventurers, of two hundred pounds, and the bringing over, in August, 1629, and May, 1630, of two companies of the Leyden people to Plymouth, at an expense

* The Articles of Agreement are given by *Bradford*, 226-27.

† *Bradford*, 225-31. Part of the agreement — the payment of the corn — was remitted by the undertakers, to give the colonists "content herein." — *Bradford*, 249-50.

‡ *Bradford*, 249, 302, 365.

to the undertakers of some five hundred and fifty pounds. But they were, nevertheless, received with open arms and loving hearts; houses were assigned to them, and lands prepared; and they were supported by the Plymouth brethren until they could reap a harvest from their own labor: altogether costing "little less than the former sum," five hundred and fifty pounds.*

* *Bradford*, 247-50. *Prince*, under date of August 29th, 1629, says: "Thirty-five of our friends, *with their families*, from Leyden, arrived at New Plymouth." But *Bradford* says, "thirty-five persons were shipped in May, and arrived here about August" [1629]. — Pp. 247-48, and notes. And in his *Letter Book*, the Governor says: "I will now come to the year 1629. This year we had divers of our friends of Leyden come to us, as had long been desired, both of them and us. These persons were in all *thirty-five*." — *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 1st Series, vol. III. pp. 65, 66, and 69. *Hubbard* says, "thirty-five persons." — *Hist. N. E.* p. 69. Many of these Leyden people must have been in quite destitute circumstances, for the "Undertakers" had to pay a bill in London, for 125 yards of kersey and other cloth, 127 ells of linen cloth, and 65 pairs of shoes, for their outfit. Of one company, *Bradford* says: "Besides victuals and other expenses, they were all newly apparelled." — *Ut sup.* The number of the second company is not given; though *Bradford* says, "this company were fewer in number" than the first; but being "the weakest and poorest, without any of note, their charge came to a hundred pounds more. * * * Yet they were such as feared God, and were thus both welcome and useful, for the most part." — *Bradford*, 247-48, and *Letter Book*, *ut sup.* *Dr. Thacher* (*Hist. Plymouth*, p. 72) says, this company was "about sixty in number." But he gives no authority for the assertion; and I have not been able to find any. *Bradford* does not give the number; but says, it was "fewer in number" than the first company; and if so, then it could not have been what *Thacher* gives; unless *Prince's* account be taken in preference to *Bradford's*, and the first company be understood as composed of

Thus were all the temporal affairs of the colony wisely and energetically arranged and managed And God prospered, and established, and blessed this Christian commonwealth; and made its founders something more than mere "stepping-stones" to others into this new land of promise. He made the Christian enterprise of these once despised English Separatists memorable in the annals of the world, and gave them a name and a fame which are likely to endure while the world shall stand.

thirty-five families. But then, thirty-five families, reckoning only three persons to a family, would be equal to 105 persons; add 65, and we have 170 persons; a number considerably larger than the whole number left at Leyden in 1620, and nearly as large as the entire population of Plymouth in 1625, which was only 180; and which, in 1627, had rather diminished than increased.— See *Baylies' Memoir*, i. 257-65. But we know that all the Leyden people were not brought over; and it is quite apparent, that the sudden addition to the colony of 170 helpless men, women, and children, would have well-nigh ruined the whole enterprise.

In giving the cost of these Leyden people to the undertakers and the colony, I have understood Bradford to give the expense of the two companies together, when he says, "their charge came to above £550." But his account is rather confused and unintelligible. *Prince* (p. 272) understood him to refer to the last company; but Bradford's language does not seem to me to authorize such an understanding; for after speaking of both companies, he says: "Their charge, as Mr. Allerton brought in afterwards an account, came to above £550," etc.— See *Bradford*, 247-48, and notes.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A, TO PAGE 12.

THE FIRST SEPARATE CHURCHES IN ENGLAND.

Collier says: "This was the first gathering of churches, the first schism which appeared in England." — *Ecc. Hist.* vii. 2. And *Mr. Hopkins*, referring to *Collier* and others for authority, says: "This was the first gathering of churches, the first systematic defection from the Reformed Church of England." — *Hist. Pur.* vol. ii. p. 298. But in a note he quotes from a letter of *Grindal*, who writes to *Bullinger*, June 11th, 1568: "Our controversy concerning the habits broke out again last winter. Some London citizens of the lowest order, together with four or five ministers remarkable neither for their judgment nor learning, were openly separated from us, have held their meetings, and administered the sacraments. Besides this, they have ordained ministers, elders, and deacons, after their own way, and have even excommunicated some who had seceded from their church." "This," adds *Mr. Hopkins*, "was a distinct church organization;" not the "Plumber's Hall" company, for they were in prison during the winter of 1567-68, (*ante*, vol. ii. pp. 454-58,) "but a more radical sect, of whom *Bonham* and *Crane* were leaders." Now, though this organization may have been "ephemeral," yet it proves that there was at least one independent church in London, openly separated from the established church, some fifteen years before this time. And what is called the *Plumber's Hall* "assembly merely," seems to me also to have possessed the essential peculiarities of a Christian church. It was a company of Christian men and women, separated from all other communions, and united together by a common sentiment and faith, who

habitually assembled together for the worship of God and the celebration of Christian ordinances. And this was formed as early as 1567. — *Brook's Puritans*, i. 138-49; *ante*, i. 455-61.

Since writing the above, and in confirmation of the views expressed, I have met with Mr. Waddington's account of the congregation in Plumber's Hall. The original documents which he quotes, recently brought to light, prove conclusively that this was a regularly organized Separate, or Congregational church. Grindal charged them with setting up separate assemblies for prayer, preaching, and administering the sacrament. After two years spent in jail, the brethren reorganized their church, by the choice of Rev. Richard Fitz as pastor, Thomas Bowland, deacon, and John Bolton, ruling elder. — *Brook*, iii. 503; *Ainsworth's Counterpoison*, 28, 92. This was previous to 1571. In a paper signed by Mr. Fitz, entitled, "The True Marks of Christ's Church," this body is called "the privy church in London"; and the end of their organization is avowed to be, to enjoy "the pure, unmingled, and sincere worship of God, according to his blessed and glorious word in all things, only abolishing and abhorring all traditions and inventions of man whatsoever, in the same religion and service of our Lord God." — *Hidden Church*, 17. And in a paper signed by twenty-seven members of this church in 1571, they say: "According to the saying of the Almighty, our God — Matt. xviii. 20 — 'Wherever two or three are gathered in my name, there am I'; so we, a poor congregation whom God hath separated from the churches of England, and from the mingled and false worship therein used, do serve the Lord every Sabbath day in houses, and on the fourth day in the week we meet, or come together weekly, to use prayer, and exercise discipline on them as deserve it, by the strength and sure warrant of the Lord our God's word, as in Matt. xviii. 15-18; 2 Cor. 5th chap." — *Hidden Church*, pp. 14-18.

NOTE B, TO PAGE 89.

TYLER, COPPING AND THACKER.

It is not easy to reconcile the confused, fragmentary accounts given by Neal, Strype and others, of Tyler, Copping and Thacker.

Mr. Neal (i. 380) says: "The heads of the Brownists were Mr. Browne himself and his companion, Mr. Harrison, together with Mr. Tyler, Copping, Thacker, and others, who were *now* in prison for spreading his books, the two last being afterwards put to death for it." What is meant by "*now*" does not appear very clearly from the context. On page 871, Neal gives a date, "Jan. 10th 1580"; and on page 882, he gives another, "1582"; but between these he relates matters which occurred all along between 1580 and 1589; and gives the date of the publication of Browne's book — which he says these men were imprisoned for "spreading" — as 1582. — Vol. i. p. 377. Strype's account seems to have been followed by Neal. — *Annals*, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 186. See also *Brook*, article "Copping"; *Hopkins*, ii. 282, 316-18.

Copping and Tyler, we are told by Strype, were imprisoned at Bury, as early as 1576; and that Copping remained in prison until his execution, in 1583; and Tyler, until 1581 at least; and though we are not told the date of Thacker's imprisonment, yet Neal evidently places it previous to 1582, the time when Browne's book was published, for dispersing which all three are represented to have been imprisoned, and two of them executed. It is quite clear that they could not have "dispersed" this book before it was published; and consequently, could not have been imprisoned for what it was impossible for them to have done. And it is nearly as unreasonable to suppose that they could have dispersed Browne's books from their prison, and thus aggravated their guilt of nonconformity. The only explanation which occurs to me, is, that Thacker alone was concerned in circulating Browne's book, and was not imprisoned until after its publication; and that his act is carelessly attributed to the three prison companions, whose faith was the same; or, that some earlier publication of Browne's than the Middleburgh one was the book circulated by them.

Davids (*Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in the County of Essex*, etc. London, 1863,) says: "In 1576 John Coppin had been committed to prison at Bury St. Edmund's, for his disobedience to ecclesiastical laws, and had then, or shortly afterwards, found his companions in trouble, Elias Thacker and Thomas Gibson. These three good men were all of them Congregationalists. After long imprisonment, they were arraigned at the assizes held in Bury in the month of July, 1583, when they were condemned to die, not on the charge of treason, but only on that 'of dispersing

Browne's books and Harrison's books.' This was done by the judges in obedience to a letter from the Council, charging them to be severe with all nonconformists. Elias Thacker and Thomas Gibson were hanged on the Thursday after their sentence, and John Copping on the next day following." — P. 68.

NOTE C, TO PAGE 71.

BARROWE AND GREENWOOD'S LAST EXAMINATION.

I affix the date, March 18th, 1587-88, to the last examination of Barrowe and Greenwood, with some hesitation; for Barrowe only gives "the 18th day of the *third moneth*," as the date of this examination. Now, according to the usual mode of reckoning in England at that time, March was counted as the *first* month in the year. This would make the third month, *May*: and as this narrative follows immediately the account of Barrowe's examination on the 24th of March, 1586-87, the natural inference would be, that this occurred in May, 1587. But, for some unexplained reason, Barrowe began to number the months with *January*, counting that as the *first* month of the year. And when he did not thus *number* the months, he *named* them, e.g.: "A brief Examination of me, Henry Barrowe, the 19 Nov. 1586." "To Mr. Fisher, Dec. 1590." As to the *month*, therefore, it seems pretty clear, that, by "the 18th day of the *third month*," Barrowe meant the 18th day of *March*: not May, as it would be by the ordinary reckoning; nor June, as Brook (vol. II. p. 81) has the date. But to determine the *year* in which this fourth examination occurred, is a much more difficult task. The only data given are, first, the time of Barrowe's second arrest, mentioned by Sir George Paule, in his life of Whitgift; and secondly, the length of his confinement. But most unfortunately, these data are utterly irreconcilable. Paule says, that Barrowe and Greenwood "were again committed to the Fleet, July 20th, 1588"; and Barrowe in his letter to "a Countess," written on the "4th or 5th of the 4th month [April] 1593," says: "We had been well-nigh *six years* in their prisons." But, if he was "committed to the Fleet July 20th, 1588," he had then been in prison only *four years, eight months and*

sixteen days; and if to this be added the "half a year's" previous confinement in the Gatehouse — of which he speaks in his last examination — it still lacks *seven and a half months* of six years. This is too great a discrepancy to be allowed. We are constrained, therefore, to give up either Paule's statement respecting the date of Barrowe's second committal to prison, or the prisoner's own statement of the length of his imprisonment. But it is impossible to suppose that Barrowe could deliberately misstate the length of his confinement; especially as it would have equally answered his purpose to have said well-nigh *five years*, as "well-nigh *six years*." And it is equally impossible to suppose that he should be mistaken as to the length of his cruel imprisonment. We therefore reject Sir Geo. Paule's statement; and the more readily, because he is manifestly in an error of an entire year, in the date of Barrowe's first arraignment before the ecclesiastical commissioners. If, then, we suppose that Paule was just as much out of the way in giving the time of Barrowe's *second* arrest, and that Barrowe in his statement to the Countess referred to his *second* imprisonment only, as having been "well-nigh *six years*" long, we find the facts agree substantially with his statement; for from July 20th 1587 to April 4th 1593, was five years, eight months and fifteen days; or, if we date back from about the 24th of March, 1592-3 (at which time the words quoted from his letter were written), we shall still have five years, eight months and four days; which may certainly be called, in general terms — "well-nigh *six years*." See *Paule's Life of Whitgift*, pp. 57-59; and *Barrowe's Letter to a Countess*, in *Ainsworth's Apologie*; and *Waddington's Hidden Church*, pp. 78-91.

Henry Barrowe not only numbered the months, but the days of the week also. He held it to be wrong to say Sunday, Monday, etc., because "in the beginning of the booke [the Bible] it is written, that God himself named all the dayes, the first, second, etc." — *Exam. in Harl. Misc.* ii. 23. And so far as I can discover, he was the first modern writer to adopt the Scriptural method of numbering the months of the year; which was subsequently adopted, to a considerable extent, by the puritans, and fully by the quakers.

NOTE D, TO PAGE 192.

PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF REV. JOHN PENRY.

The following is believed to be nearly a complete list of Penry's published writings.

1. "A Treatise containing the Equity of an Humble Supplication which is to be exhibited unto her Gracious Majesty and this High Court of Parliament, in the behalf of the country of Wales, that some Order may be taken for the Preaching of the Gospel among those People. 1587."

2. "A View of some part of such Public Wants and Disorders as are in the service of God, within her Majesty's Country of Wales; with an Humble Petition to the High Court of Parliament for their speedy Redress. 1588."

3. "A Defence of that which hath been written in the Questions of the Ignorant Ministry and the Communicating with them. 1588."

4. "Exhortation unto the Governors and People of her Majesty's Country of Wales, to labor earnestly to have the Gospel planted among them. 1588."

5. "Dialogue; wherein is plainly laid open the Tyrannical Dealings of the Lords Bishops against God's Children. 1589."

6. "A Treatise; wherein is manifestly proved that Reformation, and those that sincerely favor the same, are unjustly charged to be Enemies to her Majesty and the State. 1590."

7. "The State of the Church of England."

8. "Petition of Peace."

9. His "Apology."

10. "Of Public Ministry."

11. "History of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, applied to the Prelacy, Ministry, and Church-Assemblies of England. 1609."

12. "The Appellation of John Penry, unto the High Court of Parliament, from the vile and injurious dealing of the Archbishop of Canterbury and others his Colleagues of the High Commission: wherein the Complainant humbly submitting Himself and his Cause unto the determination of this Honorable Assembly, craveth nothing else but either release from trouble and persecution, or Just Trial: — [March 7] *Anno Dom.* 1589." 16mo, pp. 52.

13. Controversy with Dr. Some.

14. "Thesis Genevensium : or Propositions and Principles of Divinitie propounded and disputed in the Universitie of Geneva, by certain professors of divinitie there, under M. Theod. Beza, and M. Anth: Fatus, professors of divinitie. Translated out of Latin into English. xxv. Edin. 1591, 4to."

15. Strype says, "there was yet another book which this liberal writer, Penry, threw out about the year 1589, and that was an answer to a sermon preached at Paul's, February 8th, 1588, by Dr. Bancroft."

To the above list may be added, sundry documents prepared by Penry while in prison, and subsequently published, though some of them were strictly private in their character. Among these were :

16. Penry's Letter to his Wife, giving an account of his Arrest and first Examination. April 6th, 1593.

17. Letter to his Daughters. April 10th, 1593.

18. "Memorial to the Government, containing the Profession of his Allegiance, and the Articles of his Faith, submitted to the Justices. April 10, 1593."

19. "Letter to The Distressed Faithful Congregation of Christ in London, etc. April 24, 1593."

20. "Letter to the Right Honorable, my lord the Lord Burleigh, etc., with John Penry's Protestation before his death. May 23, 1593."

See *Brook's Lives of the Puritans*, vol. II. p. 68; *Waddington's Life of Penry*, p. 41; *Hanbury's Memorials*, vol. I. p. 72; *Strype's Life of Whitgift*, vol. II. p. 48.

NOTE E, TO PAGE 215.

THE ARREST OF MR. JOHNSON'S CHURCH IN LONDON.

The exact date of the arrest of the body of Mr. Johnson's church is somewhat doubtful. Mr. Waddington places it on March 4th, 1592-3; but unfortunately does not give his authority. A petition addressed to the council, by the friends of the imprisoned church members, says, that there were "about three

score and twelve persons, men and women, young and old, lying in cold, and hunger, in irons ; of which number they have taken, the Lord's day last past, being *the third of the fourth month*, 1592, about some fifty-six persons, hearing the word of God truly taught, praying and praising God, in the very place where the persecuted church and martyrs were enforced to use the same exercise in queen Mary's days." — *Hanbury*, i. 88-90. Now, if these petitioners computed time, as their acknowledged leaders, Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry did, from January, (See Appendix, Note C), then the arrest of the church at Islington must have been on the *third day of April*, not the 4th of March ; and if the year is given correctly (1592) the whole transaction related by Buck must have occurred in 1591 ; a year earlier than the time assigned in the text. This supposition would agree with the date given by *Strype* (*Annals*, iv. No. 61) to the petition of Bowman, Studley, Kniston, and Lee, the elders and deacons of the church, and several members of the same, from prison "near this time" — April, 1592. But, unfortunately, these dates do not harmonize with the date of Buck's examination, March 9th, 1592-3. If this latter date is correct, then Mr. Johnson's church was formed in September, 1592 ; if the other dates are correct, then in 1591.

The examination of George Johnson, preserved by *Baker* (MSS. Coll. vol. xv. p. 107, in *Hanbury*, i. 87) goes to confirm Waddington's date, of March 4th, 159[2]-3. It reads thus : "2 Aprilis, 1593. — The examination of George Johnson, late School Master in St. Nicholas Lane, London ; born in Richmond, in the County of York, of the age of twenty-nine years, taken before Mr. Dr. Cesar, Mr. Dr. Goodman, Dean of Westminster, Mr. Dale, and Mr. Barnes, Commissioners, etc., who refuseth to take an oath, but saith, first, That he hath been a prisoner in the Fleet a month ; committed by the High Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, viz. by the Bishop of London and others, for being taken in an Assembly of people, in a wood beyond Islington. *Item*. That he was once before the Bishop of London examined ; secondly, before Mr. Yonge [Young] and Mr. Ellis ; and thirdly, before the Lord Chief Justice of England and the Lord Anderson. *Item*. Being demanded by whom he was drawn into his opinions ? saith he was drawn thereto by the Word of God, and by hearing of Mr. Egerton preach, at his sermons. *Item*. Being asked what they intended if they had drawn themselves to a greater number ?

saith, but only to walk in the Ordinance of God, according to his word."

According to this deposition, George Johnson, who we know was a member of this congregation of which Francis was pastor, was arrested in the same assembly at Islington, a *month before April 2nd, 1598*. And what Francis Johnson says to Lord Burleigh in a letter dated Jan. 18, 1598-94, after he had been in prison *fourteen months*, agrees very well with this supposition. He says, "that his brother George had been confined *eleven months* in the Clink." — *Brook*, II. 99; *Strype's Ann.*, IV. No. 91. If Francis was arrested on the 5th of December, 1592, and George, with the church, was arrested at Islington on the 4th of March, 1592-8, then George would have been a prisoner *eleven months*, lacking a single day, when Francis had been *fourteen months* in prison. This agrees, too, with John Johnson's statement, the father of Francis and George, made July 1st, 1594 — that Francis had been in prison "a year and a half," and George, "sixteen months." — *Hidden Church*, 122.

NOTE F, TO PAGE 282.

ANTAGONISM OF THE PURITANS AND THE SEPARATISTS.

The reader of this history must have remarked, that "Puritan" and "Separatist" were by no means convertible terms; that in point of fact, they very often indicated hostile parties, pitted against each other in bitter controversies. And the inquiry may have arisen — How is this? Were not the Separatists all Puritans? Were they not all earnest for a purer state of the church? Why then this antagonism between men of like faith?

The term "Puritan" was originally applied to all in the church of England who desired further reformation — a greater conformity of church government and worship to primitive and apostolic usages. But after awhile the term became restricted in its application, to those who retained their respect for the church of England, and their connection with it, notwithstanding its acknowledged corruptions; in distinction from those who had been brought to abandon both their respect for that church and their

connection with it, under the conviction that it was hopelessly corrupt, and could never be reformed.

The Separatists, then, were indeed all Puritans, and of the most thorough and uncompromising kind. They were the very essence — the oil of Puritanism. But the Puritans were by no means all Separatists; though they agreed with them in doctrinal faith, being all thoroughly Calvinistic in their faith; and in the necessity of further purification of the church of England, in order to make it conform to the spirit of the Christian system.

Thus far these reformers agreed, perfectly. And for a while they agreed on the proper measures for securing the desired reformation; viz.: by appeals to Church and State authorities, by preaching and publishing, and by reforming their own lives and practices as far as possible. But when, one after the other, these reformatory measures were found to be utterly ineffectual, and the rulers of the establishment grew more and more tenacious of the semi-popish usages, orders and discipline of the church of England, the more zealous of the old puritans broke away from the body of their brethren, separated themselves from the church of England, and organized independent churches, and accepted the name of Separatists. This separation, of course, made a grand division in the old puritan party. But it was not the only division; for the remaining puritans soon became distinguished into conforming and non-conforming puritans. While they both professed a desire for further reformation, a portion of them submitted to the rites and orders and ceremonies of the church, as things enjoined by lawful authority, so far at least as to retain their standing in the church unimpaired, and received the title of Conformists, and conforming puritans. The more sturdy and decided puritans, though they still clung to the church, and regarded voluntary separation as a heinous sin, yet refused to conform to the offensive and antichristian rites and ceremonies of the church; others earned the title of Nonconformists, or nonconforming puritans. Thus Baylie, a contemporary writer, says: "The Unconformists did always zealously plead against the corruptions of that church, but never against the truth of her being, or the comfort of her communion. When by the force of persecution they were driven out, then they did flee. Of their own accord they did never separate, but were ever most glad to live and die in her bosom, willing to partake of her worship and sacraments, where-

ever they were permitted to dissent in doctrine, and to abstain in practice, from those things which they conceived to be corruptions." — *Dissuasive*, p. 27.

The Separatists, on the contrary, after long and painful experience of the utter hopelessness of any reformation of the English hierarchal establishment by the rulers of that church, undertook to carry out puritan principles to their legitimate conclusions : If, said they, the church of England is unscriptural in its general organization, and corrupt in its administration, making no distinction between the clean and the unclean in its membership, gathering the good and the bad alike around its altars, and administering to them its sacraments ; imposing rites and ceremonies on its members, which are both burdensome and unscriptural ; and refusing utterly all reformation, requiring exact conformity to all its ordinances and observances, under severe pains and penalties — there is nothing left for the conscientious Christian but absolute repudiation of the whole system ; an open withdrawal from its fellowship, and separation from all communion with its unfruitful works of darkness ; nothing but to come out and be separate from this corrupt establishment, agreeably to the apostle's injunctions, in the 2 of Corinthians, vi. 14–18 : " Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers : for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness ? and what communion hath light with darkness ? and what concord hath Christ with Belial ? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel ? and what agreement hath the temple of God with idols ? For ye are the temple of God : as God hath said : ' I will dwell in them, and walk in them : and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.' ' Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate,' saith the Lord, ' and touch not the unclean thing ; and I will receive you ; and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters,' saith the Lord Almighty."

Now, this was the doctrine, and this was the practice of the Separatists ; and all this they learned from the Puritans — or rather from the word of God, while Puritans.

Thus the learned John Canne, pastor of the London Separate Church, in 1623, says : " I know what I say, and have good experience of this thing ; for there are not ten of a hundred which separate from the church of England, but are first moved thereto by the doctrines of the nonconformists, either in word or writing, taught to the people. Indeed, upon their ground, how can any

one do less than separate, if his heart be tender against every sin ? seeing that they confidently affirm, that the ministry, worship, and discipline are from antichrist, and that in the church are swarms of atheists, papists, adulterers, liars, etc. These are their own testimonies, and we know they are true ; and therefore, in obedience to God, and care of our precious souls, we have left our unsanctified standing in their assemblies, and through the Lord's mercy to us, do walk in the holy order of his Gospel, although daily sufferers for it." — *A Necessity of Separation, etc., Proved from the Nonconformist Principles*, in *Brook*, III. 383.

The churchmen were not slow to perceive the truth of this statement made by Canne, that Separatism was only a legitimate conclusion from puritan principles ; and to urge against these principles, that they led naturally to radicalism — the denial and rejection of the church of England, and open separation from its communion, attended with the erection of independent churches — of " altar against altar." Thus George Cranmer, in his letter to Richard Hooker, the author of the " Ecclesiastical Polity," in 1608, after stating that puritanism was manifestly declining in power and influence in the land, assigns the radicalism of the Brownists, the lineal descendants of the Puritans, as one of the reasons for this decline : " Here come the Brownists in the first rank, their [the puritans] lineal descendants, who have seized upon a number of strange opinions ; whereof although their ancestors, the reformers, were never actually possessed, yet by right and interest from them derived, the Brownists and Barrowists have taken possession of them. For, if the positions of the reformers [puritans] be true, I cannot see how the main and general conclusions of Brownism should be false. For upon these two points, as I conceive, they stand : 1. That because we have no church, they are to sever themselves from us. 2. That without civil authority they are to erect a church of their own. And if the former of them be true, the latter I suppose will follow. For if, above all things, men be to regard their salvation ; and if out of the church there be no salvation, it followeth, that if we have no church, we have no means of salvation ; and therefore separation from us in that respect is both lawful and necessary. As also, that men, so separated from the false and counterfeit church, are to associate themselves unto some church ; not ours ; to the popish much less ; therefore to one of their own making." — *Appendix to Walton's Life of R. Hooker*.

The Puritans felt the force of these arguments and assertions, and were embarrassed and embittered towards the Separatists by them. They believed that these men endangered the whole scheme of reformation which was drawn out and advocated by the moderates. These radicals went too far and too fast for the reforming party in the church; demanded what neither the church nor the body of the people could grant; and consequently exposed them to a reaction, such as Cranmer states had actually occurred in his day, which would prevent any church reformation. This feeling was certainly natural, if not reasonable; and the existence of it goes far to account for the violent opposition which the Puritans manifested towards the Separatists.

But this radicalism of the Separatists, in regard to principles held in common by them and the Puritans, does not fully explain the violent antagonism of the parties. The more thorough Puritans came gradually to embrace Presbyterian sentiments on church government. They were for taking the governing power out of the hands of the bishops and their commissaries, and putting it into the hands of the ministers and a few select men of the church; in short, for an aristocracy in the church; not deeming the body of the church a suitable or safe receptacle of church power. But the Separatists, while holding that the minister of a church and the selected elders and deacons were the most suitable men to administer the government, yet maintained, that all their authority was derived from the body of the church, which was the original source, under Christ, of all church power and authority — the ultimate and final appeal in all cases ecclesiastical.

Here then was another essential difference between the Puritans and Separatists, sufficient to engender strife — a strife which has not yet ceased.

These suggestions will be sufficient to explain the relations of the Puritans and Separatists to each other, and why there existed such fierce antagonism between them. The Puritans regarded the Separatists as rash, over-zealous, fanatical men; who by their crude doctrines and inconsiderate action were bringing suspicion and reproach on all church reformers; and thus imperilling the whole movement. While the Separatists regarded the Puritans as timid, time-serving men, who could announce principles which they had not the courage to maintain and carry out to their legitimate conclusions.

NOTE G, TO PAGE 237.

THE LAST DAYS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth, Elizabeth's kinsman, an eyewitness of her last hours, says : "She remained upon her cushions four days and nights at least. All about her could not persuade her either to take any sustenance or to go to bed. My lord Admiral was sent for. What by fair means, what by force, he got her to bed. There was no hope of her recovery, because she refused all remedies. On Wednesday, the 28d of March, she grew speechless. That afternoon, by signs, she called for her council, and by putting her hand to her head, when the king of Scots was named to succeed her, they all knew he was the man she desired should reign after her." — *Cary's Memoirs*, 117-19. Edinburgh, 1808.

From Cary's account, we infer, that the poor, dying queen felt some anxiety about her soul in her dying hours ; for he tells us, that she kept Whitgift on his knees, praying for her, more than an hour ; and though the archbishop made two attempts to rise, she motioned him down again." — P. 121. A hard service for the old sinner ; and one is tempted to fear, a useless one, so far as the poor queen was concerned ; for it is the effectual fervent prayer of the righteous man that prevails with God.

The French ambassador, who kept himself well informed of what was passing in the queen's dying chamber, says, that Elizabeth was "forced, in a manner, into bed, after having sat ten days upon cushions, refusing to repose herself except for one hour, and that in her clothes." — In *Birch's Memoirs*, vol. II. p. 507. Another contemporary says : "Her delight is, to sit in the dark, and sometimes, with shedding tears, to bewail Essex." — *Birch*, II. 106 ; *Turner's Eng.*, IV. 550. Still another writes : "It was after laboring for nearly three weeks under a morbid melancholy, which brought on stupor, not unmixed with some indications of a disordered fancy, that the queen expired. During all this time she would neither, by reasoning, intreaties, or artifices, be brought to make trial of any medical aid, and with difficulty was persuaded to receive sufficient nourishment to sustain nature, taking also very little sleep, and that not in bed, but on cushions,

where she would sit whole days, motionless and sleepless, retaining however the vigor of her intellect to her last breath, though deprived, for three days before her death, of the power of speech." — In *Miss Aikin's Mem. of Eliz.*, vol. II. p. 498. Another contemporary says: "Because she had a persuasion that if she once lay down she would never rise, she could not be got to go to bed in a whole week, till three days before her death. She made no will, neither gave anything away; so that they which came after shall find a well-furnished jewel-house, and a rich wardrobe of more than two thousand gowns, with all things else answerable." — *Ib.* 498.

The reader will find all the contemporary particulars of Elizabeth's last sickness and death in *Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, 2 vols. 4to.; *Turner's Modern Hist. of Eng.*, vol. IV. chap. 19th; and *Miss Aiken's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. II. pp. 495–99. Mr. Hopkins also gives a summary and very satisfactory account of Elizabeth's sickness and death, in his excellent *History of the Puritans*, vol. III. pp. 689–41. D'Israeli, in his *Curiosities of Literature*, has several articles on Elizabeth — 1 *Series*, pp. 70–71, 169–71, Am. ed.; and 2d *Series*, pp. 352–54. Sir John Harrington, in a letter dated Oct. 9, 1601, gives a short but very vivid picture of the disturbed state of the Queen during the autumn of that year: "She is quite disfavoured, and unattird, and these troubles [about Essex, etc.] waste her mûche. She disregardeth every costlie cover that cometh to the table, and taketh little but manchet and succory pottage" — bread and chicory? "She walks much in her privy chamber, and stamps with her feet at ill news, and thrusts her rusty sword at times into the arras in great rage," etc. — *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. I. pp. 817–19, Lond. 1804. And in another letter, written to his wife, Dec. 27th, 1602, Sir John says: "Our deare Queene, my royale god-mother, and this State's natural mother, dothe now bear shew of human infirmitie." He then describes a recent interview: "She bade the archbishop aske me if I had seene Tyrone? [the Irish rebel against whom the Earl of Essex had been sent.] I replied with reverence that I had seene him with the Lord Deputie. She looked up, with much choler and grieve in her countenance, and saide: 'Oh, nowe it mindeth me that you was *one* who sawe this manne *elsewhere*' [Harrington was with Essex in Ireland]; and hereat she dropped a teare and smote her bosome." Speaking of his poetry,

the queen said: "I am paste my reliehe for suche matters. Thou seeeste my bodilie meate dothe not suite me well; I have eaten but one ill-tasted cake since yester nighte."—*Ib.* 820-28. His letter to Mr. Robert Markam, written in 1606, gives a very graphic and accurate description of Elizabeth's character, and conduct in her court. — *Ib.* 854-68.

NOTE H, TO PAGE 277.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE, HABITS, AND CHARACTER OF JAMES I.

The personal appearance and habits of James I., as described by his contemporaries, his untruthfulness, intemperance and licentiousness, his puerile and vulgar tastes, the corruption of morals and manners which he encouraged in his court; together with his inattention to the duties of his station, and his weak, arbitrary administration of government; all together, render this prince indeed odious and contemptible. His large, quilted, stiletto-proof doublets, and full-stuffed breeches, laid over in great plaits, bore witness to his cowardly disposition. His great eyes, continually rolling, and ogling strangers out of countenance; his tongue, too big for his mouth, which made him drink like a swine; his unwashed hands, which were relieved of their accumulated dirt only by the occasional application of a wet napkin to the ends of his fingers; his weak legs, which tempted him to be continually lolling on other men's shoulders: make a picture of the royal pedant sufficiently unattractive. But when we read of his spending two days a week in the cockpit; of his gluttony and drunkenness day after day, in the presence of his whole court; and of the scenes of riot and debauchery encouraged by him, and allowed to extend even to the ladies of the court, who were seen rolling about in intoxication, so that the virtuous Mrs. Hutchinson is constrained to call "the court of this king a nursery of lust and intemperance"; and when we are told, by this same lady, that the generality of the gentry of the land soon learned the court fashion, and every great house in the country became a sty of uncleanness; and that from this courtly example "began murder, incest, adultery to be no concealed, but countenanced vices" in

the community at large ; and read that a wretched profligate, like Buckingham, is elevated to the chief post of influence in the kingdom, by this king, and retained there, in spite of his crimes and the indignant remonstrances of the virtuous men of the nation ; while good men are harassed, imprisoned, or driven out of the land ; true religion discountenanced and popery encouraged ; and the whole kingdom brought to the very verge of utter ruin — when one reads all these things, in connection with the reign of James Stuart, he cannot well avoid branding him as “an odious and contemptible,” yea, worthless and wicked prince. See ‘for particulars, *Dr. William Harris’ Historical and Critical Account of the Lives and Writings of James I. and Charles I.,*” etc., etc. Sir John Harrington, a contemporary and a courtier of James, also gives numerous illustrations of the king’s character. See particularly his letter to Secretary Barlow, describing the riot and drunkenness which attended the visit of Christian IV., of Denmark, to the English court, in July, 1606. — *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. i. pp. 848–53 ; and to Sir Amias Pawlett (Jan. 1606), *Ib.* vol. i. pp. 866–71 ; and to Robert Markam, *Ib.* 854–65 ; and to Lord Thomas Howard (1611), *Ib.* 890 — and Lord Thomas Howard’s letter to Sir John Harrington, *Ib.* 891. *Mrs. Hutchinson’s Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson*, furnish a vivid picture of the corruptions of James’ court, and of the gentry and common people of the land, through the king’s example, pp. 75–98. *Lingard’s Hist. Eng.*, likewise furnishes striking illustrations of James’ corrupt and worthless character, vol. ix. pp. 81, 282–88. *Hallam* says, “James was all his life rather a bold liar than a good dissembler.” — *Const. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 297. *Disraeli*, seeks to relieve James of a portion of the infamy which adheres to his history ; but not very successfully. — *Curiosities of Literature*, vol. i. p. 515. Lond. 1849.

NOTE I, TO PAGE 298.

REV. MR. SMYTH’S SE-BAPTISM.

Ivimey (*Hist. Eng. Baptists*) and *Toulmin*, in his note on Neal, (*Hist. Pur.* i. p. 72,) speak of this as a “silly charge, fabricated by Smyth’s enemies,” and as a “slander” upon his memory.

The following from Mr. Robinson must be regarded as conclusive, on this point: "If the church be gathered by baptism, then Mr. Hellwisse's church will appear to all men to be built upon the sand, considering the baptism it had and hath. Which was, as *I have heard from themselves*, on this manner: Mr. Smyth, Mr. Hellwisse, and the rest, having utterly dissolved and disclaimed their former church state, and ministry, came together to erect a new church by baptism; unto which, they also ascribed so great virtue as that they would not so much as pray together before they had it. And, after some straining of courtesy who should begin, and that John the Baptist, Matt. iii. 14, misalleged, Mr. Smyth baptized first himself, and next Mr. Hellwisse, and so the rest, making their particular confessions. Now, to let pass his not sanctifying a public action by public prayer, his taking 'unto himself' that 'honor' which was not given him, either immediately from Christ or by the church — his baptizing himself, which was more than Christ himself did — I demand, Into what church he entered by baptism? Or, entering by baptism into no church, How his baptism could be true, by their own doctrine? Or, Mr. Smyth's baptism not being true, nor he, by it, entering into any church — How Mr. Hellwisse's baptism could be true; or into what church he entered by it?" — *Robinson's Works*, III. 168.

Mr. Crosby (Hist. Eng. Baptists) says: "I do not find any Englishman, among the first restorers of immersion in this latter age, accused of baptizing himself, but only the said John Smyth; and there is ground to question the truth of that, also." But Mr. Crosby does not make out a very strong case. His reasons for disbelieving the statement — he does not appear to have seen Robinson's direct and particular statement — are, 1, That, some of those who wrote against Mr. Smyth, wrote "with so much passion and resentment, that it is not unlikely such men might take up a report against him upon slender evidence; and after one had published it, the others might take it from him without any inquiry into the truth of it." 2, That Mr. Smyth nowhere acknowledges any such act, or attempts to justify it. 3, That it is reasonable to suppose that he acted on the principle which he himself laid down, and that he first formed a church, and then by the appointment of the church, two of their ministers were appointed to begin the administration by baptizing each other. He concludes — and very sensibly too — by saying: "If he were

gully of what they charge him with, 'tis no blemish on the English Baptists, who neither approved of any such method, nor did they receive baptism from him." — Vol. I. p. 98-100.

NOTE J, TO PAGE 339.

REV. ROBERT PARKER AND DR. WILLIAM AMES.

Governor Bradford, in his *Dialogue*, says: "We, some of us, knew Mr. Parker, Doctor Ames, and Mr. Jacob, in Holland, when they sojourned for a time in Leyden, and all three boarded together, and had their victuals dressed by some of our acquaintance." — *Young's Chronicles*, p. 439; *Neal*, II. 74, 126.

The Rev. Robert Parker was a learned and devout nonconformist; a faithful and successful preacher, and a celebrated writer. Cotton Mather calls him, "one of the greatest scholars in the English nation." He wrote very ably and learnedly against Bishop Bilson's doctrine of the actual descent of Christ into the regions of the damned; also on the Sign of the Cross in Baptism; and a work entitled "*De Politica Ecclesiastica*," in which he maintained, that whatever related to the church of Christ must be deduced from Scripture; that Christ alone is the doctor or teacher of the church, in matters of religion; and that the Scriptures are a perfect directory in all ecclesiastical matters whatsoever. He was grievously persecuted by Bancroft, and was obliged to flee to Holland to escape imprisonment. He was born in 1571, and died at Doesbury, Holland, in 1614. — *Brook*, II. 237-40; *Neal*, II. 69, 96; *Magnalia*, vol. I. p. 423, Hartford, 1820. Parker's only son, Thomas, emigrated to New England in 1634. He was one of the first settlers, and became the first pastor of Newbury, Mass., in 1635. — *Mag.* I. 133-35; *Allen's Biog. Dictionary*.

The Rev. William Ames, D.D. was one of the most learned divines and copious writers among the nonconformists of his day. He was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, under the celebrated William Perkins. While a fellow of the College, he preached against playing cards and dice, which gave such offence to the college dignitaries, that he was compelled to leave the University, to avoid expulsion. Having incurred the enmity of

Archbishop Bancroft, by his nonconformity, he fled to Holland for refuge. But even there, hierarchal enmity followed him; and he was driven from the Hague, and prevented from receiving the professorship of divinity in the University of Leyden, by English intrigue. The attempt was also made to prevent him from having the same appointment in the University of Franeker, though without success; and he filled that chair with great acceptance, for twelve years. Among his best known works are "A Fresh Suit against Human Ceremonies," and his "Medulla Theologica." In the former, he says: "We stand upon the sufficiency of Christ's institutions for everything pertaining to Divine worship; and that the word of God, and nothing else, is the only standard in matters of religion." He was born in 1576, in Norfolk, and died, while colleague with the celebrated Hugh Peters, of the Independent church in Rotterdam, November 14th, 1638. His widow and children emigrated to New England. — *Brook*, II. 405-408; *Neal*, II. 69, 280; *Hanbury*, I. 533. *Mather* calls Ames "one of the most eminent and judicious persons that ever lived in this world"; and says that his purpose was, to have emigrated to New England; "but he was hindered by that Providence which afterwards permitted his widow, and his children, and his library, to be translated hither." — *Magnalia*, vol. I. p. 215. William Ames, a son, was a graduate of Harvard College, in the class of 1645. — *Magnalia*, II. 28.

NOTE K, TO PAGE 894.

ARTICLES FROM THE CHURCH AT LEYDEN, 1617.

[S. P. O. AM^A. AND W. IND. VIRG.]

Seven Artikes which y^e Church of Leyden sent to y^e Counsell of England to bee considered of in respectk of their judgments occationed about theer going to Virginia Anno 1618.

1 To y^e confession of fayth published in y^e name of y^e Church of England & to every artikell theerof wee do wth y^e reformed churches wheer wee live and also els where assent wholly

2 As wee do acknolidg y^e docktryne of fayth theer tawght so

do wee y^e fruites & effectes of y^e same docktryne to y^e begetting of saving fayth in thousands in y^e land (conformistes & reformistes) as ye ar called wth whom also as wth our bretheren wee do deayer to keep spiritual communion in peace & will pracktis in our parts all lawfull thinges

8 The King's Majesty wee acknolidg for Supreame Governer in his Dominion in all causes and over all parsons, and y none maye decklyne or apeale from his authority or judgment in any cause whatsoever, but y in all thinges obedience is dewe unto him, ether active, if the thing commanded be not agaynst God's woord, or passive yf itt bee, except pardon can bee obtayned.

4 Wee judg itt lawfull for his Majesty to apoynt bishops, civill overseers, or officers in awthority onder hime, in y^e severall provinces, doses, [dioces], congregations or parrishes, to oversee y^e Churches and governe them civilly according to y^e Lawes of y^e Land, untto whom ye ar in all thinges to geve an account & by them bee ordered according to Godlines

5 The authority of y^e present bishops in y^e Land wee do acknolidg so far forth as y^e same is indeed derived from his Majesty untto them and as ye proceed in his name, whom wee will also therein honor in all things and hime in them.

6 Wee beleeve y^e no sinod, classes, convocation or assembly of Ecclesiasticall Officers hath any power or awthority att all but as y^e same by y^e Majestraet geven unto them.

7 Lastly, wee deayer to geve untto all Superiors dew honnor to preserve y^e unity of y^e speritt wth all y feare God, to have peace wth all men what in us lyeth and wheerein wee err to bee instructed by any.

Subscribed by

JOHN ROBINSON

and

WILLIAM BRUSTER.

[It is difficult to believe that John Robinson wrote the original of the above, though his name is first affixed to the document.]

~~DEC 4 '53~~

~~FEB 2 9 1968~~

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